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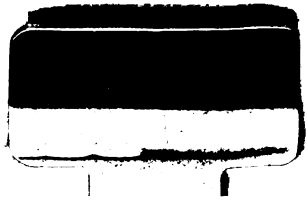
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COMPENDIOVS AND BREVE TRACTATE

CONCERNYNG THE

Office and Dewtie of Kyngis.

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ANE

COMPENDIOVS AND BREVE TRACTATE

CONCERNYNG THE

Office and Dewtie of Kyngis,

SPIRITVALL PASTORIS, AND TEMPORALL IVGIS.

LAITLIE COMPYLIT BE

William Lauder,

University of MICHIGAN

FOR THE FAITHFVLL INSTRVCTIOVN OF KYNGIS AND PRENCIS.

Diligite Iusticiam qui iudicatis terram.

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EDITED BY

FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon.

[Second Edition, revised, 1869.]

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PREFACE.

So far as I am aware, William Lauder has hitherto escaped the notice of all compilers of biographical dictionaries, and is mentioned by only one bibliographer.[1]

The copy of his *Compendious Tractate* used for this publication is the property of my esteemed friend, Thomas Leckie, Esquire, M.D., late of the Bengal Army;[2] and I have heard of the survival, to our time, of but one other copy, that mentioned below.

In an Appendix, I have entered into particulars as to my reimpression of the present poem, and as to the edition of it by the Reverend Peter Hall. The Notes and Glossary which are added will, it is hoped, be found sufficient.

And here I should have ended my Preface, had I not been enabled to present the ensuing account of Lauder and his writings. For this account I am indebted to David Laing, Esquire, of Edinburgh, the highest living authority on the ancient literature of his countrymen:

William Lauder, author of the *Compendious Tractate*, now reprinted, flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century. He was a native of Lothian, and was born about the year 1520. The precise date and place of his birth, or anything regarding his family connexions, have not been ascertained. But it

[1] Bohn's edition of Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, p. 1319.

[2] [This copy of Lauder's *Tractate* has since passed into the possession of Mr Laing, Edinburgh, 1869.]

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appears that he had a liberal education, and was, probably, intended for the Church.

In the Registers of the University of St Andrews, we find the name *Willielmus Lauder, La.* (for *Laudoniæ;* the usual mode of recording the district to which he belonged), among the students who were incorporated in St Salvator's College, in the year 1537. Had he taken his degree of Master of Arts, we might have been at some loss to distinguish him from another *Wylelmus Lauder, Laudoniæ,* who was incorporated, in the year 1542, in St Leonard's College, St Andrews. Two years later, in due course of his academical studies, this Guillelmus Lauder appears among the Determinants in that College; which shows that he had qualified himself for taking his Master's degree.

On leaving the University, Lauder the poet may have taken priest's orders, and been connected with one of the religious establishments in Edinburgh. He, at least, had early distinguished himself by his literary talents; as we find that, upon an occasion of public rejoicing, he furnished a play, or dramatic representation, which was performed at the expense of the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh. On the 28th of December, 1554, it is recorded: "The quhilk day, the Provest, baillies, and counsale findis it necessar and expedient that the litill farsche and play maid be William Lauder be playit afoir the Quenis Grace; and that scho be proponit to hir nether [new-year's ?] gift, with sum cowpis of siluer." On the following day, the sum of £42 (Scottish money) was ordered to be paid for "the goblat dubill ourgilt," and, "siclik, 16 crownis of the Sun and ane half, for an vther goblat, with which to propine the Quenis Grace." [1]

The occasion of this civic entertainment seems to have been the return to Edinburgh of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, from France; having, on the 24th of April preceding, been

[1] Edinburgh Council Records, Vol. II., fol. 39.

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proclaimed Regent of Scotland, during her daughter's minority.

Four years later, Lauder's inventive powers were again exercised, in producing one of those plays, or moralities, which were so common at that time. It was for the purpose of celebrating the marriage of the young Scottish Queen with Francis, Dauphin of France, at Paris, in July, 1558. Although neither of his plays has reached our times, yet the Council Registers and the Treasurer's Accounts enable us to ascertain the nature of the latter performance, in which the chief personages were the Seven Planets and Cupido.

In the Treasurer's Accounts there are numerous payments under the head of "The expensis maid upone the triumphe and play at the mariage of the Quenis Grace, with the convoy, the [*blank*] day of Julij, anno 1558." Many of these relate to the dresses and previous arrangements; but it is only necessary to quote the following:

"Item, gewin to William Adamsoun, for writing of ane part of the Play, & for the recompanse of his part of the play, quhilk he had in keping, at the Presidentis command. iv.*li.*

"Item, gewin to WILLIAM LAWDER, for the making of the Play, & vrytting thairof.[1] x.*li.*

"Item, gewin Walter Bynning, for paynting of the vii. Planetis, of the kart, with the rest of the convoy. xvi.*li.*, xiii.*sh.*, iv.*d.*

"Item, for xxiiii. [xiiii.] elnis of small canvas, til be the vii. Planetis coittis & hois, with Cupido; price of the ell, iiii.*sh.* Summa is lvj.*sh.*

"Item, deliuerit to the vii. Planetis, with Cupido, xxiiii. ellis of forbate taffeteis, of syndrie sortes of hewis; price of the ell, xii.*sh.* Summa is xiiij.*li.*, viii.*sh.*"

When Mary Queen of Scots arrived, in person, in the

[1] See also last page of the Council Register, vol. ii.

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metropolis of her ancient kingdom, in August, 1561, she was welcomed by a banquet, triumphe (or procession), and propyne, at an expense, to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, of 4000 merks. This included "all necessaris convenient for the triumphis and farceis at the Over Trone, Tolbuith, Croce, Salt Trone, and Nether-Bow." But there is no mention either of Lauder's name or of the person who was employed to furnish these pageants.

So completely was his fame as an author obscured, that it was not until 1827—when the Rev. Peter Hall, in the *Crypt*, reprinted his *Compendious Tractate*,—that such a person was known to have existed.

The original is a small quarto, of twelve leaves, in black letter. It has neither printer's name nor place of printing; but an examination of the types and wood-cut ornaments leaves no doubt that it came from the press of Johne Scot, who, for some years, seems to have enjoyed a monopoly of the printing business in Scotland. This he carried on alternately at St Andrews and Edinburgh, between, at least, the years 1547 and 1568.

Two other small poetical tracts, written by Lauder in 1568, and printed before 1572, were discovered only a few years ago. They were purchased by the late Mr W. H. Miller, of Craigentinny,—who had previously acquired the Rev. P. Hall's copy of the *Compendious Tractate*,—and are now the property of his successor, S. Christie Miller, Esquire, as part of the rich collection of early English literature in the library at Britwell House, Buckinghamshire. One of these tracts has the following title: "Ane Prettie Mirrour, Or Conference betuix the faithfull Protestant and the Dissemblit false Hypocreit," &c.; in 4to., four leaves, black letter; printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekpreuik, about the year 1570. At the end: "Quod William Lauder." Then follow two short poems, entitled "Ane trew & breue Sentencius Discriptioun of *the*

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nature of Scotland, Twiching the Interteniment of virtewus men That laketh Ryches. Compyld be William Lauder, Minister of Gods wourd, &c.," and "Ane Gude Exempill Be the butterflie, Instructing men to hait all Harlottrie." The latter has, at the end, "Quod William Lauder, Minister." The other tract is entitled: "Ane Godlie Tractate, Or Mirrour, Quhairintill may be easilie perceauit quho Thay be that ar Ingraftit in to Christ, and quho ar nocht," &c., "Compyld in Meter, be William Lauder, Minister of the wourd of God." On each of these titles is a rude woodcut of a satyr holding up a mirror. This latter tract contains fourteen leaves, in black letter, 4to. On the second leaf from the end is a poem, entitled "The Lamenta[t]ioun Of the Pure, Twiching the Miserabill Estait of this Present Warld. Compylit be William Lauder. At Perth. Primo Fabruarie, 1568 [1568-9]."

It has already been suggested that Lauder was educated for the Church. We possess no information as to the time when he joined the Reformers, whether before, or subsequently to, the establishment of the Protestant Faith, in August, 1560; neither can we ascertain the date of his admission as Minister of the united parishes of Forgandenny, Forteviot, and Muckarsie, in the Presbytery of Perth. It was, most likely, in the year 1563, or 1564, when many of the vacant charges were supplied. In the earliest "Register of Ministers, and thair Stipends, sen the year of God 1567," his name is thus entered:

> Stratherne (in 1567).—"William Lauder, Minister of Forgondynye, [his stipend] iiijxx.*li.* [£80]: and xx.*li.* mair sen Lambmes, 1569."

Lauder was not destined to any lengthened period of service in the Church. On the margin of the Register of Ministers, 1567, it is stated that he "Deid at Candilmes, 1572," that is, in February, 1572-3. This is confirmed by the following extracts from the Accounts of David Murray, Sub-collector of

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the Thirds of Benefices for Perth and Strathearn; the Accounts for this district of a previous date, and also for the year 1570, not being preserved:

"Crop 1568.

"In the Defeasance of Money.

"To Williame Lauder, Minister at Forgundynie, Forteviot, Muckarsy, and Mallour, takand in the yeir fourscoir poundis, and pait compleit for the yeir comptit, lxxx.*li.*

"Crop 1569.

"To Williame Lawder, Minister at Forgoundynie, Forteviot, Muckarsie, and Malar, takand be yeir ane hundreth pundis, payit thairof lxxxxviij.*li.*, vj.*sh.*, viij.*d.* [£98 : 6 : 8.]

"Crop 1571.

"To William Lauder, Minister at Forgoundyny, Forteviot, and Muckarsie, takand be yeir ane hundreth pundis, pait compleit for the year comptit, I^c.*li.*

"Crop 1572.

"To the relict of vmquhile William Lauder, Minister at Forgoundyny, Forteviot, & Muckarsie, at command of the Kirk, lxvj.*li.*, xiij.*sh.*, iiij.*d.* [£66 : 13 : 4]."

The last entry was originally made in Lauder's own name; but the words *the relict of vmquhile* and *at command of the Kirk* are added in the margin. Lauder, during his incumbency, had Gabriell Creichtoun to aid him, as "Reidar" in two of the churches, with a salary of £20.

November, 1864.

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The following additional information has been kindly furnished to me by Mr Laing:

In the notices of William Lauder, prefixed to the Early English Text Society's edition of his *Compendious Tractate*, at p. vi., he says, I overlooked the earliest mention of his name, entitling him to be classed among the Scottish Poets of the sixteenth century.

After the death of James V., in 1542, leaving an only daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, James, second Earl of Arran, (created Duke of Chattelherault in April, 1548,) was chosen Regent or Governor of Scotland; he being the next in succession to the Crown, had the young Queen died without issue.

It is easy, therefore, to suppose that the nuptials of his eldest daughter, Lady Barbara Hamilton, with Alexander Lord Gordon, would be celebrated with more than ordinary splendour.

Accordingly, we find, in the Treasurer's Accounts, several payments connected with this marriage. Among these, in February, 1548-9, one was

> Item, to WILLIAME LAUDER, for making of his Play, and expensis maid thairupoun, xj.*li.* v.*s.* (£11 : 5 : 0)

But no indication is given of the character of the Play. It was, most likely, a kind of pageant.

NOVEMBER, 1869.

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TO THE REDAR.

THE CONTENTIS OF THIS BVKE.

And, first, contening the Diffinitioun of ane Kyng and of his office.

Secundle, Declaryng quhat Difference is thair, before God, betuix the Kyng and his Vassall.

And quhat sall becum to Kyngis that contynewis in Iniquitie and neclectis thair offices.

Schewing, sicłyke, Ane Generall Instructioun to Kyngis, how thay sal alsweill inhereit the Heuin as the erth.

And how Kyngis suld Elect thare Spirituall Pastoris And Temporall Iugis.

And how the Spiritual Pastor And temporall Iugis sulde haue thame in thare officis.

Quhat sall becum to Kyngis that Electis vnqualifyit Officiaris.

And, last of all, vnto quhose actionis, in speciall, suld Kyngis geue rathest actendence.

Compylit be William Lauder, For the Eruditioun of all Catholyke Christin kyngis and Prencis; To quhome he wyssis Grace, Mercy, and Peace, in Iesu Christ our Lorde.
So be it.

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THE DIFFINITION OF ANE KYNG AND OF HIS OFFICE.

THOCHT God hes creat man to ryng,
In euery realme to be as king; Roma. xiii.
And to be had in Reuerence,
And with fer more preheminence,
During his natural curse and lyfe,
Abone the man, the chyld, and wyfe; Sapi. vi.
To be dred, seruit, and obeyit, Tim. iii. i. Pet. ii.
And as thare maister to be weyit: i. petr. ii.
Ȝit is this Kyng bot constitute, Titu. iii.
Vnder God, as ane Substitute, Rom. viii. Sapi. vi.
To minister, and cause ministrat be,
Iustice, to all, with equitie;
Nother to spair, for lufe nor fede,
To do dew Iustice to the dede, Deu. xvii.
Elyke boith to the ryche and pure,
And so tyll euery Creature.
Withoute respect tyll ony wycht,
Suld kyngs geue euery man thare rycht;
Prouidyng that his Iustice be
Gratiouslie myxit with mercye; Pro. xxvii.
Exempyll taking of all kyngis kyng,
Quhais mercy passith euery thyng.
No geir sulde do the faltour bye; Deu. xvii.
And kyngs suld heir the pure mans crye,

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And helpe thame, rather, in distres,
Nor thame that hes the gret ryches.
To ponysche Vice, and treit virtew,
This is ane Prencis office dew.

HOV KYNGIS HES NO ERTHLIE PERMANENCE.

THIR kyngs *th*ai ar bot kyngs of bane ;
And schort wyl heir *th*are tyme be gane :
And schorte is heir thare Ioye, I saye,
Job. xiiii. And euer schorter, daye be daye.
Rycht as the sande-hour in the glasse,
Elykewyse dois thare tyme heir passe :
Thay haue no surenes heir to byde,
Bot euer sure that thay mon slyde.
Sapi. vi. Sen it is so, sulde nocht ane kyng
Be Vigelant to rewle his ryng
Miche. ii. In Godlie maner, decentlie ;
Deu. xvii. To hauld his Realme in vnitie,
Jere. v. In Amytie, and in concorde,
Psal. cxxxi. Without Diuisioun or discorde ?
For, doutles, throuch diuisioun
Proceidis dissolatioun ;
And, without Charitie and Peace,
Roma. xiii. Thare is no Realme that can haue grace :
Sapi. vi. And kyngs sall geue ane compt tharefore
In presens of the kyng of glore.
At this ilke compt quhat salbe said
To thame, and to thare chargis laid ?
It salbe said, vndouttitlie,
Mathei. xxv. Geue thay haif rewlit rychteuslie :
" Cum and resaue, for euer-more,
The place prepaird for 3ow in glore."
Geue Vitiouslie thay haue thame gydit :
" Go, passe vnto the place prouidit

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To 3ow, for euer to remaine
In the Infernall endles paine."
Wo be to the, thow euyll seruande,
That wald nocht keip my Iuste commande.

Mathei. xxv.
Sapi. vi.

FOLLOVIS THE DISCRIPTIOVN OF THE DIFFERENCE BETVIX THE KYNG AND HIS VASSALL, IN THE SYCHT OF GOD.

QVHAT is *thi*r kings more tha*n th*e pure,
Except thair office & thair cure?
Nothing, at all,—to rekin rycht,—
Different, in-to Goddis sycht,
Than bene the purest Creature
That euir wes formit of nature.
For Christe did suffer wyllinglie,
To saif Man Vniuersallie,
And sched, also quha vnderstude,
Als gret abundance of his blude
For the pure sely nakit thyng
As he sched for the Potent kyng.
And he thame boith did mak of claye,
Quhare-to thay mon returne sum daye.
Quhat geue thay boith to heuin ascend,
Quhare thare is Ioye withouttin end,
Sall this gret kyng be sett more hie,
Amangs the heuinlie companye,
Be reasoun of his land and rent
That he had in-to erth to-spent,
Than the pure sely naikit wycht?
I can nocht solue that questioun rycht;
Bot, I trow, as thay boith deseruit,
Thay sall elykewyse thare be seruit.
Bot, I knaw, and thay boith discend
Tyll hell, quhare thare is paine but end,—

ii. para. xix.
Ephe. vi.
Collo. iii.
Actu. x.
Iaco. ii.
i. petri. i.
Mat. vii.
Roma. ii.
Apoc. xxii.

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As God forbid that ony do
That ever he pat lyfe in-to,—
Geue that thare ony places be
Sapi. vi. More creuell than vthers in degre,
Thare sall it be the kyngis dwellyng,
With gretyng, raryng, and with ȝellyng:
Because the kyng had in his handis
The rewle of hunders and thousandis,
Quhome that he sufferit, in his dayis,
To tyne and perysche mony wayis;
And the vile Catyue, naikit and pure,
Had of hym-self bot onlye cure.

FOLLOVIS QVHAT SALL BECVM TO KYNGIS THAT VITIOVSLIE RYNGIS, NECLECTAND THARE OFFICES.

O kyngis, I mak ȝow traist and sure,
Prouer. iiii.xxix. Geue ȝe neclect ȝour Prencelie cure,
And becum Auaritious,
Parciall, creuell, or Couatus,—
Sapi. vi. With sum dispensand, for pure pakkis,
That thay may brek ȝour Prencelie actis;
Raisand gret derth, exhorbitent
Aganis ȝour actis of Parliament;
Oppressand ȝour Communytie,
And bryngand thame to pouertie,
To hounger, hirscheip, and rewyne;
Puttand the pure in poynt to tyne;
And selland, so, the Commoun weill
Off thame that ar ȝour liegis leill,—
Sufferand sic wrang for to be done,
Sapi. vi. That Kyng that sitts all kyngis abone,
Quha heiris and seis all that is wrocht,
And knawis euery hartis thocht,

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Sall nocht onlye heir 3ow torment
With greuous plaige and ponyschement,
Bot sall, quhen 3e may nocht amend,
Plaige 3ow with paine that hes no end.
  3our namis thay salbe scrapit oute
  Furth of the Buke of lyfe, but doute;
And 3our successioun thay sall be
Eradicat frome 3our ryngs, trewlie,
And geuin to vncouth Natioun,
To Ioyse 3our Habitatioun.
  3our vitious lyfe, and Couatyce,
  And the abusyng of 3our Offyce,—
Vsand 3our fleschelie vane plesuris,
Oppressand 3our pure creaturis,
And 3our fals glosing of the wrang,—
Sall nocht mak 3ow to rax heir lang;
Bot it sall be, the foirmeir thyng
Sall first depose 3ow frome 3our ryng,
And mak 3ow lose 3our latter waige,
Quhilk is the heuinnis heritage.
So, for 3our wrang, but proces more,
3e sall tyne heuin and wardlie glore.
Geue 3e contynew and Indure,
Off thir forsaids 3e sall be sure.

Pro. xxix.
Psal. ii.
Esay. xxxvii.

Mark, kyngs, how I haue, heir, breiflie
Diffynit 3our names and Dignitie,
3our office, dewtie, and 3our cure
That 3e aucht tyll all Creature;
And quhat gret difference is, at all,
Betuix 3ow and 3our pure Vassall;
And, last, how I haue, fynallie,
Declaird quhat wo and miserie
Sall lycht on 3ow, and on 3our seid,
That to 3our office taks no heid.
  And, now, geue that 3e wald be leird

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To bruke and to Inioye the eird;
And geue ȝe wald that ȝour ofspryng
Did lang in-to ȝour regiones ryng,
In weilfare and prosperytie,
In grace, peace, and cherytie;
And, also, geue ȝe do pretende
Haue heuinlie Ioye vnto ȝour ende,
Than follow this nyxt Instructioun,
Maid for ȝour Eruditioun.

FOLLOVIS THE INSTRVCTIOVN TO PRENCIS, HOW THAY SALL ALSWEIL INHEREIT THE HEVIN AS THE ERTH.

ATTEND, O Prencis, and tak tent
Vnto this Doctryne Subsequent;
And thareto wyselie do aduert,
And prent the samyn in ȝour hert.

Tim. iiii. Sapi. vi. Luc. xix.
First, cause ȝour prechours, all and od,
Trewlie sett furth the wourd of God,
But fictioun, fraude, or flatterie.
Latt it be knawin to ilk degre,
That all may vnderstand, and knaw
Dani. vi.
To lufe and feir his Godlie law;
In the quhilk Law ȝe may vpbryng
ȝour liegis, as ane godlie kyng;
Throw quhilk Law, also, thay may leir
ȝow as thare kyngs and Prencis feir,
i. Tim. ii.
And do ȝow homage and reuerence,
With all detfull Obedience.
For thay that ar ane faithles clan
Can nother dreid God, kyng, nor man.
Quhare faith is nocht, no grace can be,
Bot Myscheif, wo, and myserie;
And, quhare faith is, thare is all grace,
Thare is prosperitie, lufe, and peace.

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The Liegis of the vngodlie kyng . Prouer. iiii.xxix.
In daylie trubbyll thay sall ryng ;
For thay tak nother thocht nor cure
But reuth for to oppresse the pure.
Thay haue nocht God before thare Ee,
Bot seruis thare Sensualytie :
And swa that realme is neuer at rest ;
Bot styll the pure ar sore opprest.
Thus, without kyngs Y-groundit be
In Goddis wourd of verytie ;
Thare Liegis, also godlie men,
Doand godd*is* wourd parfytlie ken ;
And but trew precheours ; I mak plaine,
All Realmes sall vnderly gret paine,
And sall nocht mys the scurge and rod
Off the hie puissant and mychtie god.
Also, (I saye vnto ȝow,) Kyngis,
ȝe sall be plukkit frome ȝour ryngis
Rycht dulefullie, withouttin dreid ;
Nocht onely ȝe, bot als ȝour seid ;
And haistelie, or euer ȝe knaw,
ȝe salbe plagit, one and aw,
Boith with the sweird, the fyre, and pest :
I mak it to ȝow manyfest,
Sett ȝe nocht furth Godds wourd on hycht,
And mak it cum vnto the lycht.
Geue ȝe Indure vnto ȝour fyne,
ȝe sall nocht mys the sam rewyne :
For God sall steir vpe Nationis
Aganis ȝour Generationis,
Quhilk sall, at schorte Narratioun,
Bryng ȝow to dissolatioun.
Thocht, to defend ȝow, ȝe wald prease,
ȝe sall haue nother harts nor grace,
Eccept with godds wourd ȝe be armit,
And it in-to ȝour herts confermit.

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Itt suld nocht be hid, nor obscurit;
It suld nocht be throung down, nor smurit;
Itt suld nocht wreistit be, nor wryit,
Nor vnto prophane thyngs applyit.
Itt suld be precheit to all dois seik it:
Itt nother suld be paird nor ekit,
Saif Scripture with Scripture ȝe expone
Apoc. xxii. Conforme vnto the trew-twiche stone,
Quhilk is the auld and new Testament,
Quhilk suld be taucht most deligent
Be faithfull Pastors that preche can,
But feir of ony erthlie man.
Thay suld nocht be abasit to preche,
Nor for no kynde of fauour fleche;
Bot trewlie thay suld do thare cure,
But feir of ony creature.
Wo be to thame that dois knaw
Hebru. x. Godds wourd, syne dois the contrar schaw,
In Pulpet or in preching place
Speking aganis godds wourd of grace.
Better to thame haue bene vnborne:
Thay ar the peple that ar forlorne,
Quhilk nother sall be heir nor hyne
Remittit for thare fals Doctryne.
Preis neuer, O Prencis, in ȝour cure,
No waye for to oppresse the pure:
Be nocht gredie nor Couatus;
Be Liberall, gude, and gratious;
Eccle. xxxii. Be humyll, meik, and pacient,
Deu. xvii. Rom. xii. And to do Iustice diligent.
Help thame that help of ȝow requyris,
Conforme vnto thare Iuste desyris.
Be nocht ouir facill for to trow,
Quhill that ȝe try the mater throw.
Preis euir to win ȝour Liegis hartis,
Rather than Conqueis gold in cartis.

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Haue ȝe thare herts, I say expresse,
Than all is ȝours that thay possesse:
Than neid ȝe nocht, no tyme nor ceasone,
Be ferit for falset or for treasone:
Than can ȝe be no maner want
Gold, thocht ȝour pose wer neuer sa skant.
And gredie Prencis, dowtleslie,
Sall nocht faill to end myserablie:
For oftymes it is cleirly kend,
Wrang Conquest maks myscheuous end.
Att schorte, ȝe daylie do aduert
To serue ȝour God with faithfull hert.

FINIS.

NOW haue ȝe, Kyngs, my Document,
Quhilk in ȝour herts, I pray ȝow, prent;
And, doyng this, ȝe be nocht feird
But doute for to possesse the eird:
ȝour seid and ȝour Posteritie
Sall, efter ȝow, ryng happelie,
And sall, at last, but proces more,
Heir-throw cum to the heuinnis glore.

ȝITT want ȝe, Kyngs, ȝour Officiaris
Ciuile And Gostlie Mynistaris.
Attend heirfor, quhow ȝe sulde chuse
ȝour Pastor*is* that suld precheing vse.

FOLLOVIS THE ELECTIO*N* OFF THE SPIRITVALL PASTORES.

O kyngis, quhe*n* that ȝe go to chuse
ȝour pastours that suld preching vse,
ȝe suld not chuse thaim for *th*air blude,
Nor for thare ryches, nor thare gude,

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Nor for thare plesand parsonage,
Nor for thare strenth nor vassallage.
ȝe sulde nocht chuse vnto that cure
Ane Vinolent nor wod Pasture,
1. Tim. iii. No sleprie hird, nor errogant,
Bot prudent, wyse, and vigelant;
No Pastor gewin to feid the flesche,—
All sic ȝe suld frome ȝow depesche,—
None couatus of wardly glore,
None to heape ryches vpe in store,
None hasardours at cards nor dyce,
None geuin to foule nor fylthie vyce.
ȝe suld not chuse thame cause ȝe lufe thame,
Nor for no fauour suld promoue thame
To that most gret and wechty cure,
Except ȝe vnderstude, moste sure,
1. Tim. iii. Thame apt and ganand for the ȝok,
For to Instruct the christin flok,
And, with exempyll of thare lyfe,
To edefye Man, Maid, and wyffe.
ȝour Hirdis thay suld be harborus,
Godlie, gude, and gratious,
1. Tim. iii. Mercyfull, modest, and meik,
Cheritabyll to the pure and seik.
Hirds suld nocht spair, for fleschelie paine,
To passe in wynd, frost, snaw, or raine,
But hors or mule, vpon thare feit,
To preche, with humyll hert and spreit,
Godds trew wourd, moist clene and pure,
To euery kynde of Creature;
As Peter did, thare predecessour,
Geue thay wald be his trew successour.
Bot, thocht thay ryde on mulis or hors,
Itt is bot small regarde or fors,
Swa thay godds wourd wald trewly teche,
And it plaine to the peple preche.

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So suld ȝe cheis ȝour Pastoris gude
That hes the fouth of heuinly fude
To satisfie the houngre scheip 1. Tim. iii.
Quhilk in thare cure thay haue to keip.
Sic Pastoris wyll be weill content
To leif vpon the fer les rent
Nor hes sum Vicare for his waige,
Or Rector for his Rectoraige.
Heir, quhat our Pastoris thay may spend,
Me neidis nocht schew; sen it is kend.
Geue thay godds wourd hes weill declaird,
I saye thare leueings ar weill waird;
And, geue thay haue the floke abusit,
ȝe, Kyngs, sall be for that accusit
Be the gret potent kyng of kyngis,
That heris and seis all thir thyngis;
Because ȝe mouit thame to sic curis
Quhilk nother teches ryche nor puris.
Heirfor considder, O ȝe kyngis
That at thir present houris ryngis,
Geue ȝe haue chosin ȝour Pastoris thus
As I afore haue done discus;
And geue thay haue thir properteis,
Thir gude conditionis and qualyteis;
And geue thay dewly do thair cure
To euery kynd of Creature
That thay ar detbound for to do:
I pray ȝow tak gude hed heir-to.
Geue myster be, mak reformatioun, 1. Tim. iii.
Rycht as ȝe lufe ȝour awin Saluatioun.
It wyll be to ȝour chargis laid;
And to ȝow, Kyngs, It wyll be said:
"Wo be to ȝow, that gaif my scheip
To gredie raueand Wolfis to keip."
ȝe, kyngs, hes wyte,—of this be sure,—
That pat sic Pastoris to sic cure.

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Mend this, O kyngs, or it be lait:
For ȝe leue in ane feirfull stait.

MERK, heir, how I haue schawin ȝow, cleir,
The way, the fassoun, and maneir,
Hov ȝe ȝour spiritual hird*is* suld chuse;
And how *th*ai hird*is th*ar lyffs suld vse;
And how thay suld Instruct thare floke
That ar subiectit to thare ȝoke;
And, als, quhow God sall ȝow correct,
Geue ȝe vnqualifeit hirds Elect.

Now followis nyxt, and first of all,
To chuse ȝour Iugis temporall;
To quhilk my pen I sall prepare,
With helpe of God, for to declare
How ȝe sulde cheis thame faithfullie,
And of quhat fassonis thay suld be;
And quhat gret Maledictionis,
Quhat plagis and sore afflictionis,
Sall fall wpon the realmes and kyngis
Quharin no faithfull Iugis ryngis.

FINIS.

FOLLOVIS THE ELECTIO*N* OFF THE TEMPORALL IVGIS.

O Prudent Prencis, marke wyselie,
With Pringn*ant* wytt*is* & walkryfe Ee,
ȝour Iugis quhen ȝe go to chuse,
That vnder ȝow suld Iustice vse.
That thyng is gret ȝe go to do;
And ȝe sulde tak gude heid thare-to.
In this Consistis, withouttin faill,
Boith the wynning and tinsaill

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Off 3our haill Regioun and ryng
That 3e haue in 3our gouernyng.
  Thay suld be of ane lynage leill;
  And, suthlie, 3e suld knaw thame weill,
That 3e promoue to sic ane place,
Seyng so wechtie is the cace.
  Goddis worde suld cleir to thame be knawin,
  And in thare harts it suld be sawin;
And 3e suld prudentlie considder,
Thare lyfe and it aggre to-gidder.
For mony with thare mouth professis — Psalm.
Goddis wourd, that daylie it transgressis.
Wourd*is* ar bot wynd, I say in-deid, — Jaco. ii.
Withoute gude werks of thame proceid.
  We may wyrk weill; and, we liste call,
  The Lorde hes hecht to heir ws all, — Mat. vii.
And for to geue ws, liberallye,
With gude wyll, grace and mercy fre.
  Swa, without Iugis cleirly knaw
  The wourd of God, and, als, his law,
It is impossibyll, verralie,
That he ane faithfull Iuge can be.
  Bot quha goddis wourd hes in his hert,
  And thareto daylie dois aduert,
The feir of God sall hym defend — ii. Para. xix.
Frome wyrking wrang, vntyll his end;
So that he sall tyll euery wycht
Do that thyng quhilk accords of rycht.
  Vngodlie Iugis, for Solistatioun
  Of Potestatis with wrang Nerratioun,
Wyll tak bot lytill thocht or cure
But reuth for to oppresse the pure. — Pro. xxi.
This Iuge is blynd, and may nocht se;
For he wants God afore his Ee.
He knawis nocht god, nor 3it his law;
And so of hym he stands no aw,

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In Court, in Parliament, or Cessioun,
Prov. xxix. Planelie for to conmit Oppressioun.
Iust Iugis aucht, with humyll hertis,
To heir the playnt of boith the partis,
And nocht on heid, without discretioun,
Determe withouttin Iust cognitioun.
Gret murmour is, and mony sayis,
That sum Solistars, now thir dayis,
Vincusis Laweris in thare cause,
For all thare ledgin of the lawis.
Suithlie, I thynk sic Solistatioun
Gret myster hes of Reformatioun;
Because it smellis, vnfenȝeitlie,
To verray percialytie;
Quhilk Percialytie smoris doun
Iustice in euery land and toun.
I saye ȝour temporall officiaris
Thay suld be faithfull Mynistaris,
Nocht haueand respect, regaird, nor Ee
To wardlye ryches nor dignytie,
To Tergats, Chenis, nor goldin Ryngis,
Hors, clethyng, money, nor siclyke thyngis.
For fauour of Freindis, nor fois feid,
No wrang Decretis thay aucht to leid.
Thay suld be sober and pacient;
Thay suld be secreit and prudent;
Thay suld be wyse and virtuus;
Thay suld be gude and gratius;
Thay suld be walkryfe on thare curis;
Thay suld haue knawlage of boith the Iuris,
Als weill the Canone as Ciuile law:
Thay suld thame vnderstand and knaw
For blynd men (as I haue feill,)
Can nocht decerne fair colours weill:
No more can Iudgis Illitturate
Discus ane mater, (weill I wat).

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Frome all Inuye thay suld be fre,
Frome Malyce, Yre, and Creueltie,
Frome flattrie, falset, and dissait,
Frome toulȝe, bergane, and debait,
Frome heycht, frome haitrent, and frome luste,
Quhilk makis Iugis lief Iniuste.
Thay suld be clene of euery vyce,
And, speciallie, of Couatyce:
For gredie Iugis, I ȝow assure, Eccle. xx.
Doith sell the causis of the pure.
Geue thare be sic, I knaw of nane:
Thay knaw, thare-self*is*, that budd*is* hes tane,
To hurte the pure, syne latt passe fre
The ryche. O Lord, to this haue Ee;
And help the pure that ar in stres,
Opprest, and hereit mercyles.
Traist, Kyngis, that thare is no refuge:
Except ȝour Iugis Iustlie Iuge
The causis of all Creaturis,—
Boith of the ryche and of the puris,—
ȝour Crown, Sworde, Ceptour, & ȝour wand,
Thay sall be tane out of ȝour hand,
And geuin to vtheris, frome ȝow and ȝouris,
That wyll do Iustice at all houris.
The Maledictione of the pure
Sall on ȝow and ȝour seid Indure,
Vntyll that ȝe be rutit oute.
This sall nocht faill, withouttin doute,
Bot it sall lycht, quhen god dois pleis,
Howbeit ȝe leif now at gret eis.
Thocht God ane quhyle he dois ouir-se ȝow,
Thynk weill he dois behauld and Ee ȝow,
And wyll ȝow vesy, quhen ȝe leist weine,
Syne turne ȝour myrth and Ioye in teine.
Be wer, tharefor, with walkryfe Ee,
And mend, geue ony myster be.

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NOW, Kyngis, I pray 3ow, fynalie,
Prent, euer, in 3our Memorie
Ecci. iiii. To help the pure and Fatherles
That lyis drownyng in distres.
3acha. vii. The pure Wedow, that wantis hir man,
Help hir with Iustice, geue thow can.
Geue that 3e fynd thare actionis rycht,
Help thame with all 3our strenth and mycht.
For no rewarde, gyft, nor propyne,
Thole none of thir twois causis tyne:
For, geue thow do, gret God, trewlie,
Leuitt. xxiiii. Hes hecht on the Auengit be.
Now haue I breuelie heir furthschawin,
And to 3ow, kyngis, I haue maid knawin,
Efter my sober wytt and mycht,
How that 3e suld Elect moist rycht
3our Iugis that suld Iustice vse,
And quhome 3e aucht for to refuse
Frome that gret office, chairge, and cure;
And of quhat plagis 3e sall be sure,
Geue 3e chuse Iniust Officiaris,
Gredie and peruerst Mynistaris;
And how 3e suld nocht spair for panis
To help the wedowis and pure Orphanis.

QVHILK thyngs, I pray 3ow, wysely merk;
And thynk it is ane wechtie werk
To chuse thame rycht: as I haue said,
The haill thyng to 3our charge is laid.
Geue thay wyrk weill, the better is 3ouris,
3our Hearis, and, als, 3our Successouris.
Geue thay do nocht, 3e may sure trow,
The haill wyte sall redound to 3ow;
And 3e sall poynist be thairfore
Be the gret potent Prence of glore.

FINIS.

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THE EXCVSATIOVN OFF THE MAKER TO ALL CATHOLYKE KYNGIS AND PRENCIS.

THOCHT I haue said *the* veritie
In sempyll maner, faithfullie,
As to my knawlage dois apeir;
3it humelie, with hert Inteir,
I wald beseik 3our Maiesteis,
My dytement did 3ov not displeis:
Bot in-to gude part tak it weil;
Sen I haue wrocht it of gude 3eill,
And of na Malyce nor Iniure
To ony erthlye Creature,
Bot onely for the prosperitie
Of Prencis and thare Posterytie;
As I sall answeir to heuinnis Kyng,
That heris and seis euerye thyng.

FINIS.

THE DEPRECATIOVN OF THE MAKER FOR ALL CATHOLYKE KYNGIS AND PRENCIS, AND THARE LIEGIS.

THE Potent Kyng of kyngis all
Preserue all Prencis Catholycall;
The leill trew Liegis of ilk land,
That thay in perfyte faith may stand:
And grant to thame sic happye grace,
That thay may leue in rest and peace,
In Lufe, Amytie, and in concorde,
Without Diuisioun or discorde;
As suld all faithfull Prencis trew.
Fair weill: I saye no more: adew.

FINIS.

And Imprentit In the 3eir of God
Ane M.V.C.LVI.

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RESPICE FINEM.

The Lord Menteine the Faithfull Floke
With Strenth to Drawe in-to his ȝoke. 550

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APPENDIX.

THE preceding text strictly reproduces, down to its graphical variations, the original edition of Lauder's *Compendious and Breve Tractate.* The title of the poem and the headings of its divisions, there expressed in small letters, here appear in capital, but without further change. The abridged title and the head-lines are my own; and so, throughout, are the punctuation, and the notation of the lines of the poem.

Chalmers is of opinion that Jhone Skott tampered with the spelling of Sir David Lyndesay, in the way of anglicizing it. If Skott really did so, it may be conjectured that he served Lauder after the same fashion. His possible innovations I have, however, left undisturbed.

The only liberties which I am conscious of having taken with the first impression are as follows. The contractions for *e*, *is*, *n*, and *th* have been expanded; and the expansions have been italicized, to mark this fact: while the Gothic symbol ȝ, which is, generally, equivalent to an initial *y*, has been retained. In the heading in p. 8, I have exchanged *reth* for *erth*. The hyphens are, everywhere, of my supplying. In l. 322, I have put *Quhilk* for *Quhillk;* and, in l. 375, *wyselie* for *wyseslie*. In l. 199, the parentheses enclosed, in the original edition, only the words *I saye*.

In l. 217, *Eccept* is, I suspect, no printer's blunder. In l. 226, the metre shows, pretty satisfactorily, that *trew-twiche stone* was intentional. In. l. 263, I have advertently left *oftymes;* and *commit*, in l. 420.

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The edition of 1556 has two large wood-cuts, roughly executed; the one on the title-page, and the other at the very end. The first, representing a king in state, is between the title and the initial Latin motto; the second, suggesting doomsday, stands between the words *respice finem* and the couplet I have printed just underneath them. A third illustration, of smaller size than the other two, follows the colophon. It is a picture of Hercules striking a centaur; the same which is seen in Jhone Skott's first edition of Lyndesay's *Monarche*, at the termination of the Third Book.

Lauder's present *Tractate* was reprinted, with a few explanations appended, by the Rev. Peter Hall, in the first volume of a short-lived periodical, *The Crypt, or Receptacle for Things Past:* Ringwood, 1827. But scarcely for any two consecutive lines, notwithstanding his implied profession of exactness, does Mr Hall deserve the award of due fidelity. Even in the short Table of Contents, he has allowed himself in no fewer than twenty-three deviations from the old spelling. Unguided by any intelligible principle, he archaizes words, modernizes them, and distorts them into forms that have never existed. Of his carelessness some idea may be formed from the subjoined specimens: l. 5, *curse of lyfe*, for *curse and lyfe;* l. 97, *captyve*, for *Catyue;* l. 293, *hasardous*, for *hasardours;* l. 419, *or parliament*, for *in Parliament;* l. 432, *betray*, for *verray;* l. 487, *help*, for *vesy*. In seven instances, his own oversights, accepted as genuine readings, are made the subject of remark in his notes and glossary; which, for the rest, teem with misapprehensions. The very date of imprint of the poem he gives in its modern form, M.D.LVI., and not M.V.C.LVI. We must here multiply together the V. and C.; that is to say, not treating them as if they were ordinals.

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NOTES.

*** Throughout the poem, the participial and adjectival forms in *and* and *ing* are employed indiscriminately; and so are those in *it* and *d*.

Concurrently with the plural of the verb, used as such, we find, put in its stead, what is, now, restrictively the singular.

Lauder, as a prosodist, must be judged according to the time in which he wrote; and his contemporaries could not have considered his metre as slovenly. The slurrings, more or less violent, which are often necessary in order to render his lines scannable, were familiar enough in his day; and his hypercatalectic verses, which are numerous, are, in several instances, a decided relief to the monotony of the regular iamb. Nor was there anything peculiar in his frequent preference of music and emphasis to syllabic measurement; as where, in lines 156, 235, 304, 311, 382, 441, 451, he resolves into dissyllables the words *peace, thame, gude, Godds, boith, fois, men,*—to be read *pē-ĕce, thā̆-āme, gū-ŭde, Gŏ-ŏds, bō-ŏth, fŏ-ōs, mĕ-ĕn.* And so *mercy-full*, in line 305, must be pronounced *mĕr-cў̆-fŭ-ŭll.*

L. 1. *Creat*, 'created.' The latinistic form of the participle passive occurs in lines 9 and 124, also. For *ministrat*, l. 11, we must assume an unused verb, as in the case of our *situate.*

L. 7. *Dred*, 'dreaded.' And as is the participle, so is the preterite. The Scotch, to this day, use—what once was English,—*pled* for *pleaded;* and they formerly used *shew* for *showed.* *Pled* and *shew*

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—which latter still survives in some of the Eastern Counties of England,—are distinctive, in America, of an uneducated New Englander.

Seruit and *weyit*. As these words evidence, the desinential *it*, for *ed*, makes a separate syllable, or not, at the pleasure of the poet. Even *naikit*, in l. 97, must be read *nakt*.

L. 9. *Constitute*, 'constituted.' See note on l. 1.

L. 11. Modern English would here expect a *to* after *cause*. See, for like idioms, lines 157, 165, 173, 239, 397, 500, 502.

In Richard Bernard's *Terence in English* (1588), we find: "I will presently *cause* Davus *goe* about that matter."

Ministrat, 'ministered.' See note on l. 1.

In *minister* and *ministrat*, which must be read *minster* and *minstrat*, we have the first examples, in the poem, of the numerous slurrings referred to in the introductory note.

L. 21. *Kyngis*. In the language of this poem, a substantive with a consonantal ending forms the possessive and the plural by annexing *is* or *s* to the singular; its final consonant being, in some cases, doubled: a substantive with a vocalic ending forms the possessive and the plural by changing that ending for *is* or *es*.

Such a form as *kyngs* is, however, perhaps less common than such a one as *kyngis*.

As to *regiones*, l. 154, it seems that we are to assume, for its singular, *regione*.

Again, such a form as *names* is by no means so frequent as *namis*.

Exceptions to the foregoing rules are presented in *lyffs*, *maiesteis*, *properteis*, *qualyteis*, the plurals of *lyfe*, *maiestie*, *propertie*, *qualytie*.

In prosody, *kyngis*, *hartis*, etc., are, generally, one syllable, but may be made two. See lines 21, 116, 192, 539, etc. Lauder, in his *Ane Godlie Tractate*, makes *Christis* and *gudis* dissyllabic; and so is *warldis*, in the quotation in the note to l. 115. In lines 411, 453, and 463, *iugis* or *iudgis* is a single syllable. *Names*, *realmes*, etc., are everywhere monosyllabic; and so is even *ryches*, in l. 438.

L. 23. 'No wealth should stand the offender in stead.'

L. 26. *The gret ryches*. A similar introduction, apparently superfluous, of *the* is frequent in our poem. See, for instance, lines

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58, 274, 320, 324, and the heading in p. 8. Lauder has, in his *Ane Prettie Mirrour:* "the Glutton vnto *the* hell was send."

Relics of this ancient usage are to be seen in the expressions *to put to the rout, test, torture,* etc., etc.

It is not unusual to hear a vague and awful significance gratuitously attached to the phrase *he shall die the death:* S. Mark, vii., 10. The phrase *at the last* is of precisely the same description, as regards its *the.* Our forefathers said *at the length,* also.

"Lyndsay, with the old English writers, made a very improper use of *the article;* as, indeed, scholars at present make a very anomalous use of that essential part of speech: as we know from Lowth. Lyndsay has 'of *the* deith,' for 'of death;' 'put to *the* deith,' for 'put to death;' 'put to *the* flicht,' for 'put to flight.' And so he writes '*the* heven,' '*the* hell.' On the other hand, he omits the article in some cases wherein it is now more fitly adopted; as, 'of haly kirkis,' for 'of *the* haly kirkis.' This mode of expression is common in the old Scotish acts of parliament, which were not always penned by very cunning scribes." Chalmers: *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay,* Vol. I., p. 154.

According to this heedless criticism, old English and Scotch are scarcely better than mere jargons.

L. 29. *Bot kynys of bane.* The King and Queen of the Bean are no strangers to those who are acquainted with the festivities of Twelfth Night. Being chosen for that occasion only, they are frequently subsidized, in old English poetry, as types of ephemerality.

The Rev. Peter Hall defines *bane,* in the expression under notice, by "destruction."

At least in certain parts of the West of England, all churchpeople are still familiar with the King of the Bean. That, in Scotland, this character had long ago become little more than a name might, at first sight, be inferred from the following stanza by Sir David Lyndesay (p. 234 of my edition of his Poems), a contemporary of Lauder:

"Trait ilk trew Barroun as he war thy brother,
Quhilk mon, at neid, the and thy realme defende:
Quhen, suddantlie, one doith oppresse one vther,
Lat Iustice, myxit with mercy, thame amende.
Haue thov thare hartis, thov hes yneuch to spend:
And, be the contrar, thov arte bot *kyng of bone,*
From*e* tyme thyne hereis hartis bene from *the* gone."

But I surmise that Lyndesay wrote *bane* and *gane,* and that to

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his printer, the Englishman Jhone Skott, belongs, of right, the paternity of the nonsensical *bone* and of the very unscottish *gone*. Whether for *bone* or for *bean*, Lyndesay would have written *bane*, especially in anticipation of *gane* to rhyme to it. Henryson has *benis;* Dunbar, *bene*.

L. 30. *Schort*, 'schortly.' The use as adverbs of words now only adjectives will be found also in lines 63, 82, 190, 226, 228, 250, 255, 298, 318, 357, 389, 460, 470, 506, 517, 521.

L. 44. *Proceidis*, 'proceeds.' The verbal ending *is* is put as a separate syllable, or not, at the writer's option. It is not often so put in our poem; and yet we have, as dissyllables, *knawis*, l. 116; *makis*, l. 460; *lyis*, l. 494; *seis*, ll. 334 and 538. Also see the notes on ll. 7, 21, and 235.

L. 58. *The*. See note on l. 26.

L. 63. *At all*, 'after all,' 'at most,' 'eventually.' Compare l. 145.

L. 69. *Also quha vnderstude*, 'As one should understand.'

Also = *as* is met with in Robert of Gloucester, in *Havelok the Dane*, and in the *Early English Alliterative Poems*, so admirably edited by Mr Morris, p. 67, l. 984, and p. 69, l. 1045. And see my note on ll. 191—195.

That, like the Latin *qui*, and—as Mätzner observes, in his *Englische Grammatik*, Vol. I. p. 298,—the French *qui* in the phrase *comme qui dirait*, *who* has long signified *one*, *any one*, could be shown abundantly out of English authors, from Chaucer down to Mr. Charles Dickens. But I shall confine myself to old Scotch. Three extracts, out of a score or more which I have collected, must suffice.

Henryson—ed. David Laing, p. 154,—writes:

> "Seis thow nocht, Lord, this warld ouerturnit is,
> As *quha* wald change gude gold in leid or tyn?"

Many relevant passages might be quoted from Bishop Gavin Douglas; but I shall give only one,—from his *Æneis*, Preface, ed. Bannatyne Club, Vol. I., p. 3, l. 14:

> "I meyn thy crafty warkis curyus,
> Sa quyk, lusty, and maist sentencyus,
> Plesand, perfyte, and feilabill in al degre;
> As *quha* the mater beheld to-for thar E."

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Add, from William Stewart's *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*, as edited by that martyr to Protestant bigotry, the late Mr. William B. Turnbull:

> "For, quhen the bird is lampit in the lyme,
> It helpis nocht that tyme thocht scho be skar,
> Becaus in tyme that scho culd not be war:
> Efter the perrell for to seik remeid
> As *quha* wald gif ane drogarie to the deid."—V. 4492—4496.

In passing, Jeremy Collier's *as who should say*—Essays, &c., Part II., p. 131, 5th edition,—is misinterpreted "as one who should say" by Dr. Johnson, followed by Drs. Webster and Worcester.

In all the foregoing passages, and so in that quoted in the note on l. 29, *as* means 'as if.'

According to Dr. Jamieson, in his Dictionary, *quha-say* "seems to signify a mere pretence;" and he thinks it is "allied, perhaps, to the latter part of the Belgic word *wisie-wasie*, a whim-wham." His editor, Johnstone, thus etymologizes it: "Corr., perh., from Lat. *quasi*, as if." The word is a concretion of *quha say* in the old expression *as quha say, als quha sa*. Compare, as to its composition, our *hearsay* and, particularly, the French *on-dit*.

Kehrein, fortified by plentiful authority for his assertion, states that, in old German, *wer*, 'who,' was used for the modern *irgend einer*, 'any one.' His words are: "Um den Begriff des lateinischen *quisquis, quicunque* (*wer immer*) auszudrücken, setzt die ahd. Sprache vor und nach *wër, waȝ* ein *sô;* mhd. steht *swër*, zuweilen *swër dër*, später bloss *wër*. Später kommt *wer* und besonders *was* im Sinne von *aliquis, aliquid* = *irgend einer, irgend etwas* vor." *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des funfzehnten bis siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. III., p. 229.

The senses of *who* were developed in this wise. In the first place, the word was interrogative; secondly, it became an elliptical relative (I see *who* it is); thirdly, indefinite; fourthly, protatic (like *whoso*, the correlative being expressed or understood in the apodosis); and, lastly, convertible with *that* employed as a personal relative. Only the fourth of these uses is obsolete.

As in the line under annotation, so, in l. 298, *vnderstude* occurs as conditional. And so does *did*, in lines 154 and 530.

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L. 78. *Amangs*, 'among.' For the final *s*, compare our vulgar *anywheres* and *somewheres*. In low German they say *mangs* and *mangst*.

L. 80. *To-spent*. I have to thank an accomplished scholar, the Reverend Walter W. Skeat, for suggesting to me that we here have the participle of the intensive verb *tos, end*. Compare *all tobrake*, in *Judges* ix., 53, as correctly printed.

In Richard Bernard's *Terence in English* (1588), occur "all to beeblubbered" and "he hath all to berent my face." The intensive prefix *to* had then passed out of the popular speech, and its import had been forgotten; and, in these expressions, *all to* was used as we still use *all*.

L. 89. *Geue that*. *That* is employed, as here, needlessly, according to the standard of modern English, in lines 95, 151, 252, 279, 481, 497, 506. Also see the quotation in the note on l. 115.

L. 96. *Tyne*, 'be ruined.' Lauder elsewhere writes:

"Quha hants Hurdome, no dout he sall be *tint*."

L. 97. *Naikit*. See note on l. 7, *ad finem*.

Ll. 103, 104. 'Allowing some, because of mere agreements, to violate your princely enactments.'

On the lines thus elucidated the Rev. Peter Hall remarks as follows: "It is not easy to make out the sense of this couplet; but it may, perhaps, mean, 'Forgiving some *for mere acquaintance sake*, that they may *noise abroad* your liberality.' *Pure* is used in this sense by Chaucer; *pak* is intimate, familiar; and a *brek*, a shout, an uproar."

An excellent authority whom I have consulted having pronounced my unriddling of *pakkis* into 'pacts' to be "probable, but doubtful," I think it well to subjoin a quotation, apparently in point, from the *Tragedie* of Sir David Lyndesay (p. 213 of my edition of his Poems):

"Had we with Ingland kepit our contrackis,
Our nobyll-men had leuit in peace and rest,
Our Marchandis had nocht lost so mony *packis*,
Our commoun peple had nocht bene opprest;
On ather syde, all wrangis had bene redrest:
Bot Edinburgh, sen syne, Leith, and Kyngorne
The day and hour may ban that I was borne."

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Chalmers, I am aware, takes *packis* here to signify 'packs.' But 'bargains' seems to make equally good sense.

Pak, it is true, meant 'intimate,' 'familiar;' and our poem, as in lines 140, 336, and 474, exemplifies adjectives in the plural put substantivally. Nevertheless, I cannot convince myself that Lauder intended, by the words *for pure pakkis*, to imply 'merely as being familiars.'

L. 109. *Hirscheip.* Lauder, in his *Ane Godlie Tractate*, uses this word—there printed *hirschip*,—in the sense of 'condition of being plundered,' as here, and also in the sense of 'act of plundering.'

L. 115. *Quha*, 'who,' the relative; but, as such, nowhere else, I perceive, in this poem. And it may be doubted whether Lauder would not here have preferred *that*, but for its coming twice in the line preceding.

Since writing the above, I have found *quhay* for *that* in a Scottish poet who flourished as early as 1460—1488.

> "Bot quhen that reson and intelligence
> Pleyis vpoun the herp of conscience,
> Schawand to ws quhat perrell, on ilk syd,
> That thai incur *quhay* will trest or confyd
> In-to this warldis vane prosperitie," &c.
>
> *Henryson*, ed. David Laing, p. 68.

These, then, are other instances to add to those given in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1860, 1861, pp. 299, 300. Mr. Weymouth, *ibid.*, pp. 71, 72, having found *who* for *that* in Gerrat Barry's *Siedge of Breda*, 1627, was "inclined to think" that it was then, "possibly only an Irishism." Had he looked into Shakspeare?

Quist, for *whist*, was still English at the time Lauder wrote *quha*, *quhat*, &c. &c.

L. 132. *Rax.* Henryson—ed. David Laing, p. 135,—has:

> "That he micht regne and *raxe* in-till his steid."

And again, in p. 146:

> "Sum for to reull, and sum to *raxe* and ring."

L. 133. *Thyng*, 'thing,' in the sense of 'doing,' 'course of conduct.' To Lauder and his contemporaries this word suggested more

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of process, as distinguished from fact, than it suggests at present. The poet's *thyng* is not, then, the weak word and the lazy rime which, at the first blush, it looks to be. Compare its employment in lines 334, 379, 410, and 518.

As against Horne Tooke's derivation of *thing* from *think*, it seems reasonable to ally the word, after Wachter, to *thun*, from the Gothic *táujan, facere*. The meanings of the Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse *þing* and its conjugates strongly support this view.

See Mr. Furnivall's paper on *Thing*, in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1859, pp. 125, 126. In his edition of Roberd of Brunnè's *Handlyng Synne*, p. 19, l. 548, and p. 197, l. 6314, *þyng*, as he points out, has the sense of 'doing,' 'working.'

L. 137. *But proces more*, 'without further course of action.' And so in l. 273. A shorter expression of nearly the same idea, *but more*, occurs in our author's *Ane Prettie Mirrour* and *Ane Godlie Tractate*. We read, similarly, in Sir David Lyndesay's *Dreme:*

"Constranit I was to sleip withouttin more."

L. 140. *Forsaids*, 'things aforesaid.' And so we find, in lines 336 and 474, *puris*, for 'poor folk.' Lauder elsewhere has *ignorantis*. Compare our *incurables, by these presents*, etc.

L. 145. *At all*, 'after all,' 'at most,' 'eventually.' Compare l. 63.

L. 151. *Geue that*. See note on l. 89.

L. 154. *Did* is here conditional, as in l. 530. See note on l. 69, *ad finem*.

L. 156. *Peace*. See introductory note.

L. 157. Supply 'to' after *pretende*. See note on l. 11.

P. 8, heading of canto. *The heuin*. See note on l. 26.

L. 165. *Cause* for *cause* 'to'. See note on l. 11.

All and od. Kend till all and sum occurs in Lauder's *Ane Godlie Tractate*.

L. 168. *Knawin* is to be pronounced *knawn*. In l. 348, *awin* = *awn;* in l. 339, *chosin* = *chos'n;* in l. 357, *schawin* = *schawn;* in l. 390, *sawin* = *sawn;* etc. See, for the general prosodial value of *i* in a final syllable, the second note on l. 7, and the notes on lines 21 and 44.

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L. 173. *Leir* for 'learn to.' See note on l. 11.

Ll. 191—195. 'Thus, unless kings are grounded in God's Word of verity; their lieges, as godly men, perfectly knowing God's Word; and if there are not true preachers;' etc.

L. 193. *Also*, 'as'. See note on l. 69.

L. 194. *Doand . . . ken, i. e., kenning*, 'knowing'. This idiom is very common in old English and Scotch. Another instance of it occurs in l. 340.

In Western India one constantly hears, from natives of the country that smatter a little English, such phrases as *He has done gone, I have done sold it*, etc.; and a similar corruption prevails amoug the uneducated in the southern parts of the United States.

L. 207. *On hycht.* I take this expression to be the same as *upon his* in the following passage:

> "Thus maid thay merie quhill thay micht na mair,
> And 'Haill! Yule, Haill!' cryit *upon hie.*"
> *Henryson*, ed. David Laing, p. 113.

Similarly, in old English, *on high* meant 'aloud,' 'loudly.'

L. 235. *Thame.* See the introductory note, and that on l. 44.

L. 239. Supply 'to' before *haue.*

L. 240. *Forlorne.* Lauder writes, in his *Ane Godlie Tractate:*

> "Sennacherib, for all his bost and schore,
> Wes put to flycht, syne be his sone *forlore.*"

L. 252. *Quhill that*, 'while,' in the sense of 'until.' See note on l. 89, and quotation in note on l. 207.

L. 264. *Conquest.* We read, in our author's *Ane Godlie Tractate:*

> "I saye for me, God will nocht send increase
> To thame that wrangus *Conqueis* dois possesse."

L. 273. *But proces more.* See note on l. 137.

L. 274. *The heuinnis glore.* See note on l. 26.

L. 279. *Quhen that.* See note on l. 89.

L. 282. *Gude.* See quotation in note on l. 352. Lauder has also "warldis gear and *gude*" and "wrangus *gude*," in his *Ane Godlie Tractate.*

L. 284. *Vassallage*, 'valour,' 'prowess.' In feudal times, the

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highest duty of a vassal, and that for which he was best rewarded, namely, by the gift of land, was military service; and hence *vassalage* came to have the import which it here bears.

L. 298. *Vnderstude*, 'should understand.' See l. 69, and the note thereon, *ad finem.*

L. 304. *Gude.* See introductory note.

L. 305. *Mercyfull* is to be read *mer-cy-fu-ull.* See introductory note, for similar resolutions.

L. 311. *Godds.* See introductory note.

L. 315. *Hors.* This use of the singular form, also seen in l. 440, is observable.

L. 320. *The fouth.* See note on l. 26.

L. 324. *The fer les rent*, 'far less income.' See note on l. 26.

On these words the Rev. Peter Hall strangely thus annotates: "The *fer les* rent. So it stands in the original edition. *Farle*, or *ferle*, means a *third*, or *fourth*, *part*. Whether the Curate's stipend, in ancient days, was so proportioned to the Vicar, or Rector's, *waige*, we can only conjecture."

L. 334. *Seis.* See note on l. 44.

L. 336. *Puris*, 'poor folk.' See note on l. 140.

L. 339. *Chosin.* See note on l. 168.

L. 340. *As I afore have done discus*, 'As I already have discussed.' See note on l. 194.

L. 348. *Awin*, 'own.' See note on l. 168.

L. 352. *Raueand*, 'ravenous.' To *reave* is to *snatch.* Lauder writes, in his *Ane Prettie Mirrour:*

> "The Godlie men, tha do support the pure,
> And geuis thame, glaidlie, of thair geir and gude:
> The Hypocreitis dois take more thocht and cure
> How tha may *reave* from thame thair daylie fude."

L. 357. *Schawin*, 'shown.' See note on l. 168.

L. 376. *Pringnant*, 'pregnant.' The insertion of an *n* before the *gn* of *pregnant* seems to have been a device for preserving the palatality of its *g*. This view is borne out by the rule of pronunciation laid down by Palsgrave, as quoted in the note on l. 385. For an *i* sound added to that of a guttural would change this letter into

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a palatal: compare the Italian *gia*, *giorno*, etc. It would, therefore, follow that words like *pregnant* were once pronounced after the French mode.

L. 382. *Boith.* See introductory note.

Tinsaill. The Rev. Peter Hall must take this very common old word to be for *tinsel;* as he explains it by "ornament."

L. 385. *Lynage.* This word is a derivative of *lign*, as *personnage* is of *personne.* The interposition, in our modern *lineage*, of the *e* before *age* must have been with reference to the French manner of pronouncing the original form, *lignage.* And now the epenthetic *e* has become a syllable by itself.

As we have treated *lignage*, so—only that the inserted vowel is *i*—we have treated *billard*, *brillant*, *gaillard*, *poignard*, *vaillant*, etc. etc. To be consistent, we ought to spell and pronounce *poniant*, and not *poignant.*

The following extracts from Palsgrave, who wrote in 1530, bear directly on the change of *lignage* into *lineage:*

"Also, whan so ever these III letters, *gna*, *gne*, or *gno* come to gyther, eyther in a nowne substantive or in a verbe, the reder shall sounde an *i* shortly and confusely betwene the *n* and the vowel folowynge.

* * * * * * * * *

"Also, all wordes in the frenche tong whiche, in writtyng, ende in *age*, shall, in redyng and spekyng, sounde an *i* betwene *a* and *g*, as though that *a* were this diphthong *ai*." *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse*, Paris edition of 1852, p. 8.

Lignage had, thus, a twofold title to transformation.

L. 390. *Sawin.* See note on l. 168.

L. 397. *Liste.* Supply 'to.' See note on l. 11.

L. 411. *Iugis.* See note on l. 21, *ad finem.*

L. 418. *He stands no aw*, 'he stands in no awe.' It is not unusual, in old Scotch, to omit the *in*, as here.

L. 427. *Vincusis*, 'vanquishes.' The Rev. Peter Hall changes this word to *wincuses*, and adds: "What may be the meaning of this word, we must acknowledge our entire ignorance, and shall be most happy, if any reader can inform us."

Ll. 431, 432. The locution in the text is like the German *es riecht nach.* Compare the Yorkshire *What do you think to this?*

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To smell to a rose, for *to smell a rose*, was English, better or worse, certainly from the time of Swift onwards for a century and more.

L. 438. *Ryches.* See note on l. 21, *ad finem.*

L. 440. *Hors.* See note on l. 315.

L. 441. *Fois*, 'foes'.' See introductory note.

P. 447. *On.* Lauder writes, in his *Ane Godlie Tractate:*

"It is he onlie that taks *on* ws cure."

L. 451. *Men.* See introductory note.

Feill. This word—our 'feel,'—is a verb, also, in the sense of 'understand'; as in the following line from our author's *Ane Godlie Tractate:*

"Bot lat ws heir the text perfytlie *feill.*"

L. 453. *Iudgis.* See note on l. 21, *ad finem.*

L. 460. *Makis.* See note on l. 44.

L. 463. *Iugis.* See note on l. 21, *ad finem.*

L. 466. *Buddis hes tane*, 'douceurs have taken.' The Rev. Peter Hall corrupts these words into *budds his tane*, and then goes on to say: "This expression must, likewise, be left to the ingenuity of others. The word *bud* is found in Beaumont and Fletcher, but supposed to be a corruption in the text."

The exact sense of *bud* is evident from the following quotation:

"The Godlie men no brybs nor *buds* will take,
To hurt the ane pairt, nor to helpe the vther:
The Hypocreit will thinke no schame nor lak
Buds to receaue, and tha wer fra his broder."
Lauder's *Ane Prettie Mirrour.*

L. 474. *Puris*, 'poor folk.' See note on l. 140.

L. 481. *Vntyll that.* See note on l. 89.

L. 487. *Vesy.* This word is one syllable. And so in Bishop Gawin Douglas, *Æneis*, ed. Bannatyne Club, Vol. I., p. 145, l. 30:

"Heirof awondrit, with breist hait as fyre,
Be fervent luf kendillit in gret desyre
Our cuntre-man to *vissy*, and with hym talk,
To knaw thir strange casys, on I stalk
From the port, my navy left in the raid."

In the fourth line, we must read *stra-ange;* in the last, *po-ort*, and *in the* as one syllable.

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L. 494. *Lyis.* See note on l. 44.

L. 497. *Geue that.* See note on l. 89.

L. 500. *Thole.* Supply 'to.' See note on l. 11.

L. 502. *Hecht.* Supply 'to.' See note on l. 11.

L. 506. *How that.* See note on l. 89.

L. 520. *Hearis.* This word is not to be mistaken for *heirs*, which, in old Scotch, is *airis* or *ayris*. Lauder has, in one of his poems, "to Sathane Sone & *air*."

L. 530. *Did* is here conditional, as in l. 154. See note on l. 69, *ad finem*.

L. 532. *ȝeill, i. e.*, 'intent' or 'disposition.'

> "And his begynnyng had bene of gude *ȝeill*."
> *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*, ed. Turnbull, v. 39,958.

In Bishop Douglas's *Aeneis* occurs "redaris of gud *ȝeill*."

It seems singular that this word should so long have baffled commentators, editors, and lexicographers.

L. 538. *Seis.* See note on l. 44.

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GLOSSARY.

*** There are many words in the foregoing poem which it has not been thought necessary to consign to this glossary; and yet more will be found in it, probably, than any but the most inobservant will need to have elucidated. It has not been supposed, however, that any one, with the aid of the context, would seek for explanation of *actendence*, *byde*, *compt*, *determe*, *ee*, *glore*, *in-deid*, *iniure*, *ken*, *leill*, *na*, *nother*, *parfytlie*, *perfyte*, *prent*, *sa*, *stress*, *suithlie*, *sweird*, *tane*, *to-gidder*, *verray*, *wardlye*, *withouttin*, etc. etc.

As to the spellings in the poem, likely to cause perplexity, the commutations, over and above those remarked on in the notes and below, required in order to make modern English, are, chiefly: *a* into *e* (*thay*) and into *o* (*wrang*), *ch* into *gh* (*throuch*), *e* into *a* (*fer*) and into *i* (*leue*), *i* into *e* (*chosin*), *it* into *ed* (*nakit*), *nth* into *ngth* (*strenth*), *o* into *a* (*ony*), *s* into *sh* (*sall*), *sch* and *ss* into *sh* (*schort* and *wyssis*), *u* into *oo* (*pure*), *y* into *i* (*yre*).

Further, there is here but one symbol, *I*, for *I* and *J*; and but one, *i*, for *i* and *j*. *V* stands for both *U* and *V*; and *u*, *v*, *w*, are used promiscuously, except that *u* is never initial.

The parentheses embrace, besides etymologies, words cognate to the terms entered, and more English, or more modern, forms of those terms, real, or, at least, analogical.

Abasit = abashed, l. 231.

Abone (aboon: A.S. *abufan*) = above, ll. 6, 114.

Abusit = deceived, l. 331.

Accusit = blamed, l. 332.

Act = enactment, l. 104.

Aganis = against, ll. 106, 212. In contrariety to, l. 238.

Air = heir, p. 35.

All = every, l. 144; and p. 26. All and od. See *Od*. At all = after all, at most, in sum, eventually, ll. 63, 145.

Als (A.S. *eall swa*) = as, l. 70. Alsweill, als weil, als weill = as well.

Als (A.S. *eall swa*) = also, ll. 202, 363, 402, 520.

Also (A.S. *eall swa*) = as, ll. 69, 193. See notes.

Amangs = among, l. 78. See note.

And (an) = if, l. 85. Even if, although, p. 34.

Ane (one) = a; one.

As = as if, pp. 25, 26, 27.

At, att. At neid = in need, p. 25. And see *Schorte*.

Aucht (ought: A.S. *aht*) = owe, l. 144.

Aw = all, l. 204.

Awondrit = surprised, p. 34.

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Bane = bean, l. 29. See note.

Be = by. Be no maner = in no manner, l. 259. On, p. 25.

Becum (become) = happen, pp. 1, 6.

Bene = is, l. 65. Are, p. 25. Been, p. 35.

Bergane (bargain: O.F. *barguiner*, to boggle) = wrangling, quarrelling, l. 458.

Bot = but.

Bruke (brook: A.S. *brúcan*) = possess, l. 152.

Bud (A.S. *búde*, offered) = douceur, gratification, l. 466.

But = without, wanting.

Bye. See *Do bye*.

Cart = chariot, l. 254.

Catyue (caitiff) = wretch, wretched person, l. 97.

Coit = coat, p. vii.

Conforme = conformably, in accordance, ll. 226, 250.

Conmit = commit, l. 420.

Conqueis = acquire, gain, l. 254.

Conqueis = the next, p. 31.

Conquest (Med. L. *conquestus*) = acquisition, gain, l. 264. And see note.

Contrar (F. *contraire*) = contrary, l. 236; and p. 25.

Couatyce (covetise: L. *cupiditas*; O.F. *coveitise*) = covetousness, ll. 127, 462.

Cowp = cup, p. vi.

Cure (L. *cura*; F. *cure*) = charge, ll. 62, 143, 322, 335, 354, 447. Heed, care, ll. 98, 185, 413; and p. 34. Duty, ll. 100, 233, 343, 509. Calling, l. 285. Discharge of occupation, l. 243.

Debait = contention, l. 458.

Decrete (L. *decretum*) = decree, judgment, l. 442.

Dede = deed, l. 14.

Defeasance = outlay, p. x.

Depesche (despatch: O.F. *depescher*) = get rid of, remove, l. 290.

Detbound = in duty bound, under obligation, l. 345.

Detfull = dutiful, bounden, l. 176.

Dispensand with = granting a dispensation to, allowing, l. 103. *To dispense with* formerly meant, in most cases, simply *to excuse*, when used of a person.

Do bye = avail, stand in stead, l. 23.

Do, used peculiarly, l. 340. And see note on l. 194.

Doand = doing, l. 194.

Dred = dreaded, l. 7.

Dreid (dread) = doubt, l. 201.

Drogarie (O.F. *droguerie*) = a drug, p. 27.

Dytement (indite: O.F. *dite*, a writing) = composition, l. 530.

Eird (earth: A.S. *eard*) = land, country, ll. 152, 270.

Ekit (eked) = made more, l. 224.

Elne (A.S. *elne*) = ell, p. viii.

Elykewyse (alikewise) = in like sort, l. 34. Accordingly, l. 84.

Eruditioun = instruction, monition, p. 1; l. 160.

Expone (expose) = explain, expound, l. 225.

Falset (O.F. *fauscte*) = falsehood, ll. 258, 457.

Faltour (faulter) = offender, delinquent, l. 23.

Fede, feid (feud: A.S *fæhðe*) = enmity, hatred, ll. 13, 441.

Feilabill (feelable) = impressive, p. 26.

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Feill (feel) = understand, p. 34.

Feill (feel, perception) = knowledge, l. 451. And see note.

Feird, ferit (feared) = in fear, ll. 258, 269.

Fleche (fleech : G. *flehen*, to beseech, caress) = flatter, l. 232.

Fois = foes', l. 441.

For = by reason of, ll. 13, 103, 137, 258, 307, 411, 441, 499.

Forbate (? O.F. *forbir*, to furbish, decorate), ? figured, flowered, p. vii.

Forlore = forlorne, p. 31.

Forlorne (A.S. *forloren*) = forsaken, l. 240.

Fors (force) = consequence, matter, l. 316.

Forsaids = things aforesaid, l. 140. See note.

Fouth (*quasi* fulth, fulness) = plenty, abundance, l. 320.

Fra = from, p. 34.

Furthschawin = shown forth, l. 503.

Ganand (gainly : O.N. *gegna*, to avail, meet) = suitable, fit, proper, l. 299.

Gear = geir, p. 31

Geir (gear : A.S. *geara*, provision) = wealth, property, money, l. 23; and p. 32.

Geue (give) = if.

Gretyng (greeting : A.S. *grætan*) = lamenting, crying, l. 92.

Gude (good) = possessions, l. 282; and pp. 31, 32.

Haill = whole, ll. 383, 518.

Hait = hot, p. 34.

Haitrent = hatred, l. 459.

Harborus = hospitable, l. 303.

Hasardour = gamester, l. 293.

Haue (have) = behave, comport, p. 1.

Hear (A.S *hearra*, *hera*) = lord, chief, l. 520.

Hecht (hight : A.S. *het*, *heht*) = promised, ll. 398, 502.

Heid, on (on head) = headlong, in haste, l. 423.

Hereit (harried : A.S. *herian*) = spoiled, plundered, robbed; ruined by extortion, l. 470.

Here = hear, lord, p. 25.

Heycht (? *Hecht*) = desire for revenge, l. 459.

Hird (herd : A.S. *hyrde*) = pastor, ll. 287, etc.

Hirscheip (? A.S. *herian* + *-scipe*, -ship) = state of being harried, destitution, l. 109. And see note.

Hois = hose, p. vii.

Hors = horses, ll. 315, 440.

Humelie (see *Humyll*) = humbly, l. 528.

Humyll (L. *humilis*; O.F. *humele*) = humble, ll. 247, 310, 421.

Hurdome = whoredom, p. 28.

Hycht, on (on high) = aloud, l. 207. And see note.

Hyne (A.S. *hiona*, hence) = afar; in the next world, l. 241.

Ilk (A.S. *ælc*) = every, ll. 168, 541; and p. 29.

Ilke (A.S. *ilc*, *ylc*) = same, l. 49.

In = into, l. 488; and p. 34. For, p. 26. Omitted, phraseologically, where it would now be used, l. 418. See note.

Indure = persevere, ll. 139, 209.

In-till = in, p. 29.

In-to = in.

Ioyse (joice : F. *jouir*) = enjoy, possess, l. 126.

Iure (jure) = jurisprudence, l. 448.

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Kart (chart) = drawing, p. vii.

Lak (lack: Danish and Swedish *lak*, fault) = abuse, reproach, p. 34.

Lambmes (A.S. *hláf-mæsse*, loaf-feast) = lammas, p. ix.

Lampit (? A.S. *liman*) = ensnared, p. 27.

Lawer = lawyer, l. 427.

Ledgin (L. *legere*) = book-learning, l. 428.

Leid (? lead, ? let) = ? pass, ? permit, l. 442.

Leir (A.S. *læran*) = teach, instruct, l. 151. Learn, l. 173.

Liste (list) = will, be inclined, l. 397.

Lynage (F. *lignage*) = lineage, l. 385. See note.

Lufe = love.

Lusty = agreeable, p. 26.

Maker (*cf.* ποιητής, from ποιέω) = poet, p. 19.

May = shall, ll. 119, 171, 173.

Ministrat = ministered, l. 11.

Mon (O.N. *mun*) = shall, will, must.

Mouit (moved) = promoted, l. 335.

Myster (Dan. *mister*, to want) = need, occasion, ll. 347, 430, 490.

Name = honour, l. 142.

Narratioun. See *Nerratioun.*

Necessar (F. *necessaire*) = necessary.

Nerratioun (narration) = representation, report, l. 412. At schorte narratioun = at short notice, l. 213.

Nocht (A.S. *noht*, *nocht*) = not.

Nor = than, l. 36.

Od, all and = all and sundry, l. 165.

Of = from, ll. 122, 396, 461, 462, 532. By, l. 66. With, l. 410.

On = with, l. 207. And see note. Of, about, l. 447. And see note. Also see *Heid.*

Or, or euer = before, ll. 203, 355.

Ouir-se (oversee) = overlook, tolerate, l. 485.

Ourgilt = overgilt, p. vi.

Pack = pak, pact, p. 28.

Paird (pared) = made less, l. 224.

Pak (pact) = compact, l. 103. See note.

Parsonage (personage) = personal aspect, l. 283. See note.

Part = party, l. 422.

Pat = put, the preterite, ll. 88, 354.

Peruerst (perverse) = depraved, l. 512.

Pose (A.S. *pusa*, *pose*, small bag, purse) = private fisc, l. 260.

Potestatis (L. *potestas*; O.F. *poestet*) = powers, potentates, l. 412.

Prease, preis (press) = strive, exert one's self, ll. 215, 243, 253.

Pretende = aim, aspire, l. 157.

Pringnant (pregnant) = quick, active, ready, l. 376. See note.

Proces (process) = course of action or procedure, ll. 137, 273.

Promoue = promote, ll. 296, 387.

Properteis = qualifications, l. 341.

Propine = propyne, *v. a.*, p. vi.

Proponit (proposed) = offered, p. vi.

Propyne (O.F. *propine*) = present, l. 499.

Pure = mere, l. 103.

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Puris = poor folk, ll. 336, 474. See note on l. 140.

Quha = who, l. 115. See note. Whoso, l. 405; and p. 28. One, any one, l. 69. See note.

Quhairintill = wherein, p. ix.

Quhais (A.S. *hwœs*) = whose, l. 22.

Quhare = where.

Quhare-to = whereto.

Quharin = wherein.

Quhat = what.

Quhay = quha, who, p. 29.

Quhen = when.

Quhilk (A.S. *hwylc*, *hwilc*) = which, who.

Quhill that (while that) = until, l. 252; and p. 31.

Quho = quha, who, p. ix.

Quhome = whom.

Quhose = whose, p. 1.

Quhow = how, ll. 277, 363.

Quhyle = while, time, l. 485.

Quod = quoth, p. ix.

Quyk (quick) = lively, spirited, p. 26.

Raid = road, roadstead, p. 34.

Raryng = roaring, l. 92.

Rather (comp. of *rath*, A.S. *rœðe*, *hrœð*) = sooner, ll. 25, 254.

Rathest (superl. of *rath*: see *Rather*) = promptest, readiest, p. 1.

Raueand (reaving, *i. e.*, ravishing, snatching: A.S. *reáfian*, *refan*; F. *ravir*) = ravening, ravenous, l. 352. See note.

Rax, raxe (reach: A.S. *rœcan*) = stretch; dominate, govern, l. 132; and p. 29.

Reave = snatch, p. 32. See *Raueand*.

Rectoraige (rectorage: compare *vicarage*) = rector's benefice, l. 326.

Refuge = protection, l. 471.

Refuse = preclude, l. 508.

Regarde = importance, l. 316.

Regne = ryng, reign, p. 29.

Rent (A.S. *rent*; L. *redita*; F. *rente*) = income, ll. 79, 324.

Resaue = receive, l. 53.

Reuth (ruth) = pity, ll. 186, 414.

Rewyne = ruin, l. 210.

Ring = ryng, reign, p. 29.

Rycht (right) = even, just, ll. 33, 348.

Ryng (L. *regnum*; F. *règne*) = kingdom, ll. 38, 383.

Ryng = reign, ll. 1, 154, 272, 338. Have authority, prevail, l. 374. Abide, remain, l. 184.

Salbe = shall be.

Samyn (Mœso-G. *saman*) = same, l. 164.

Schawand = showing, p. 29.

Scho (A.S. *heo*) = she, pp. vi. and 27.

Schore = threatening, p. 31.

Schorte, att = in short, l. 265.

Sely (silly: A.S. *sel*, *sœl*) = wretched, ll. 71, 81.

Sen (A.S. *seððan*) = since. Sen syne = from that time, p. 27.

Send = sent, p. 25.

Seruande = servant, l. 59.

Sic = such.

Siclik = siclyke, likewise, p. vi.

Siclyke = suchlike, l. 440.

Siclyke = likewise, in like manner, p. 1.

Skar (South Saxon *skerren*, to scare) = timid, shy, p. 27.

Sleprie = sleepy, drowsy, l. 287.

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Smore, smure (A.S. *smoran*) = smother, suppress, conceal, ll. 220, 433.

Solistar (solicitor) = agent in a court of law, advocate, l. 426.

Solistatioun (solicitation) = importunity, l. 411. Management in courts of law, forensic advocacy, l. 429.

Spreit = spirit, l. 310.

Suld, sulde (A.S. *sceolde*) = should.

Sum, all and = all and sundry, p. 30.

Swa (A.S. *swa*) = so.

Syne (? A.S. *sæne*, slow) = then, and then, and afterwards, ll. 236, 467, 488; and p. 31.

Teine (A.S. *teóna*) = sorrow, vexation, l. 448.

Tent (attention) = heed, notice, l. 161.

Tergat (target: F. *targe*) = an ornamental blazon, worn in the bonnet or hat, l. 439.

Tha = they, pp. 32, 34.

Thai = they, p. 29.

Thame = themselves, p. 1.

Than = then.

That, affixed superfluously, by the rule of modern English, note on l. 89. Omitted where it would now be used, l. 223.

The, prefixed where now not required, and omitted where now required, note on l. 26.

Thir = these.

Thocht = though, thought.

Thole (A.S. *þolian*) = permit, suffer, l. 500.

Throung = thrown, l. 220.

Til = tyll, to, p. vii.

Tinsaill (*tyne*, which see) = loss, damage, l. 382. And see note.

To = of. Ll. 431, 432. Omitted where now employed, note on l. 11; also l. 239, and note.

To-for = before, p. 26.

To-spend = squander, l. 80. See note.

Toulȝe (cognate with towel (?) and with tousle, tussle: O.F. *touoiller*, to wash, rub; *touoilleis, i.e.*, "d'abord bain de sang, massacre, puis mêlée, presse") = quarrelling, squabbling, l. 458.

Traist (trust) = confident, certain, l. 99.

Treit = entreat; encourage, l. 27.

Trew-twiche = true-touch, l. 226.

Trow = believe, ll. 83, 251, 521.

Twiching = touching, concerning, pp. viii., ix.

Twois = two's, l. 500.

Tyll (till: A.S. and O.N. *til*) = to.

Tyne (O.N. *týna*) = lose, l. 138. Be lost, fail, l. 500. Be ruined, l. 96; and p. 28. Perish, die, l. 110.

Vassallage = prowess, l. 284. See note.

Vesy (F. *viser*) = visit (judicially), l. 487. See note.

Vile = insignificant, l. 97.

Vincus = vanquish, l. 427.

Vinolent (L. *vinolentus*) = given to wine, l. 286.

Vissy = vesy, visit, p. 34.

Vmquhile (A.S. *ymb + hwile*) = late, deceased, p. x.

Vncouth = strange, unknown, l. 125.

Vnderly (underlie) = be subjected to, suffer, l. 196.

Vnfenȝeitlie (unfeignedly) = undisguisedly, clearly, l. 431.

Vnto = for, l. 158.

Vntyll = unto, l. 408. Compare *Tyll.*

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Vse = employ, l. 360. Be occupied with, ll. 129, 278, 280. Administer, ll. 378, 507.

Waige (wage) = recompense, ll. 135, 325.

Waird (O.N. *veria*) = expended; bestowed, l. 330.

Wald (A.S. *walde*) = would, should.

Walkryfe (wakerife) = watchful, heedful, ll. 376, 447, 489.

War = wary, p. 27.

Wat (wot) = know, l. 454.

Weine (ween: A.S. *wénan*) = think, imagine, conjecture, l. 487.

Wer = wary, l. 489.

Wod (A.S. *wód*) = mad; wild; furious, violent; irascible, choleric, passionate, l. 286.

Wryit (wried) = twisted, distorted, changed, l. 221.

Wycht (wight: A.S. *wiht*; O.N. *vætt*) = person, ll. 17, 81, 409.

Wyte (wite: A.S. *witían*) = blame, ll. 353, 522.

Y-groundit (A.S. *gegrunded*) = grounded, l. 191.

Yneuch (A.S. *genog*, *genoh*) = enough, p. 25.

ȝe = ye, you.

ȝeill (zeal) = intent, will, disposition, l. 532. And see note.

ȝeir = year.

ȝellyng = yelling.

ȝit, ȝitt = yet.

ȝok, ȝoke = yoke.

ȝour = your.

ȝouris = yours.

ȝov, ȝow = you.

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The Extant Poetical Works of William Lauder,

Playwright, Poet, and Minister of the Word of God.

1

I. Ane Compendious and Prebe Tractate concernyng the Office and Dewtie of Kyngis, Spirituall Pastoris, and Temporall Iugis. A.D. 1556.

EDITED BY

FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon.

2

II. Ane Godlie Tractate or Mirrour (*showing who are grafted into Christ, and who not; exposing the Devilish Doctrine of the Papists; and denouncing the Swinish & Hellish Greediness of the False Protestants*)

III. The Lamentatioun of the Pure, twiching the Miserabill Estait of this present Worlde, 1 Febr. 1568.

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VI. Ane Gude Exempill be the Futterflie, instructing Men to hait all Harlottrie.

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F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., Trin. Hall, Camb.

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Ane Compendious

And breve Tractate, Concernyng ye Office and dewtie of Kyngis, Spirituall Pastoris, and temporall Jugis Laitlie Compylit be William Lauder. For the faithfull Instructioun of Kyngis, and Prencis.



Diligite Iusticiam qui iudicatis terram.

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The Minor Poems

of

William Lauder.

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(*mainly on the State of Scotland in and about* 1568 A.D., *that year of Famine and Plague*).

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F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., Trin. Hall, Camb.,

EDITOR OF 'BALLADS AND POEMS ON THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND IN HENRY VIII'S AND EDWARD VI'S REIGNS (INCLUDING THE STATE OF THE CLERGY, MONKS, AND FRIARS), &c. &c.'

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PREFACE.

LET us give the first place to this fresh information concerning Lauder, by the writer to whom the Preface to our first poem by that author owes all its worth.

Additional Note, by Mr Laing.[1]

In the notices of WILLIAM LAUDER prefixed to the edition of his *Compendious Tractate* by the Early English Text Society in 1864, I happened to overlook the earliest mention of the name of this old Scottish Poet which occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts.

After the death of King James Vth in December, 1542, leaving an only daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, an infant of a few days old; James, Second Earl of Arran (created by the King of France Duke of Chatellerault, in 1548) was chosen Regent or Governor of Scotland; he being declared as next in succession to the Crown, had the young Queen died without issue.

It is easy, therefore, to suppose that the nuptials of his eldest daughter, Lady Barbara Hamilton, in 1549, would be celebrated with more than ordinary splendour. Accordingly we find in these Accounts several payments connected with this marriage in February, 1548-9. One was[2],

Item, to Williame Lauder, for making of his Play, and expensis maid thereupon xj *li* v. *s* (£11 5 *s.*)

But no indication is given of the character of the Play. It was, most likely, a kind of pageant.

[1] The half-page below is printed also on p. xi of the Second and revised Edition of the *Office*, 1869.

[2] See p. vii.

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In connection with this happy event, the following extracts from the Treasurer's Accounts may be of interest to some readers, while they serve to correct an error which is repeated in the various Peerages of Scotland, and Genealogies of the Hamilton Family.

COMPOT. THESAUR. 1546—1550. (General Register House.)

Expensis debursit be my Lord Gouernouris preceptis and speciall command.

1548 Item, ix. Augussti, to my Lord Gouernouris eldest douchter, Lady Barbara, at hir passing to the court to the Quennis grace, to be hir ane goun. vij. elnis fyne blak welwote, price of the eln, iij.*li.* iiij *s.* *Summa,* xxv *li* iiij *s*

— November. We find entered, be the Governouris command, several furnishings for claithis to his Graces servitour Jacobus Narratius Francheman quha wes ordainit to await upoun his Graces eldest douchter and my Lord Gordoun hir spouse to lerne and instruct thame.

— The Quenis Grace [Mary Queen of Scots] being suspect of the Pest, the Treasurer paid for the expensis of his Graces douchter Lady Barbara, eight dayis in Alexander Guthries chalmer in the Castle-hill, being with hir in cumpany with three other gentlewomen with thair servantis ij *li* xix *s* iiij *d*

— December. Ane rob ryall of purpure welwote [velvet] to Lady Barbara, aganis hir mariage; and various other articles of dress.

1548-9 January. Item to the Goldsmythis to be maid in ringes targettis and otherris toyes to be given at the mariage of Lady Barbara J^{c}xix *li* v *s*

— Item to the Goldsmythis for the warkmanship of thir crownis quhilk wes maid in 12 targettis 10 taiblattis and hartis 5 pair of braislaittis ane chene and 30 ringis xxxvij *li* xij *s* viij *d*

Item, a gown of quhite dalmes begaryed with quhyte welwote to Elizabeth Hammiltoun douchter to vmquhil James Hammiltoun of Stanehous aganis the day of Lady Barbaras mariage, &c.

— Various payments for furnishings for clothes to the Lady Barbara, amang which is a fine tannye welwote gown with syde tailis.

— Also for clothes to my Lord Gordoun; along with furnishings given to my Lady Huntley to be disponit in lyfrayes at the mariage.

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1548-9 Item gevin to the Lady Barbara to offer, the day of hir mariage xxij *s* vj *d*

— Item to the Quenis Grace Tailȝeour for making of Lady Barbaras claithis xj *li* xviij *s* ix *d*

— Item to his servant in drinksilver xiiij *s*

— February. Item to foure Duchemen, quha with thair trumbis playit before Lady Barbara, at hir incuming fra the kirk xj *li* v *s*.
Item, to Monsr. Dersyeis four trumpettis in ix crownes of the Sone x *li* ij *s* vj *d*.
Item, to the Quennis Violarris xj *li* v *s*
Item, to ane Fydlar, quha playit at the mariage x *s*.
Item, be my lorde Gouvernoures speciall commande, gevyn in name of touchar,[1] with his Graces eldest douchter, mareit upoun the Lorde Gordoun, the sowme of v^{m} (5000) markis; quhairof rebaitit to the Erle of Huntlie, restand be his L. of the pensioun of Aberdene 3000 markis, sua only 2000 markis payit ij^{m} iij^{c} xxxiij [*li*] vj *s* viij *d*

— Item, be my Lordis precept to Helene Ross, to stanche hir bairdre and ewill toung.[2]
Item, be his Graces commande to his Graces Scrybe, Neill Laing, to by him claithis xxij *li*
Item, to Williame Lauder, for making of his play and expensis maid thairupon xi *li* v *s*.

— *March*. Item, to Lady Barbara at her departing to the Northland to put in her purs, xi crownis of the sone. xlv *li*

1549 April. Item, be my Lorde Gouernores speciall commande to James Dalzell, quhilk he debursit vpoun the porter luge of his Graces place in Edinburgh, preparing of the keching and other necessaris of the said place, aganis the mariage of Lady Barbara xx *li* x *s* vj *d*

1551-2 Item, xiij^{s}. Januarij be my Lord Gouernoures speciale commande deliuerit to my Lord Gordoun to support his expensis I^{c} *li*.

The Duke of Chatellerault continued at the head of affairs until he was constrained to resign the Regency, and on the 12th of April, 1554, the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, was proclaimed Regent of Scotland. From that time, any payments connected with his own person or family cease to appear in the Treasurer's Accounts.

From the preceding extracts there cannot be the least doubt

[1] For *tocher*, or marriage portion.
[2] To stop her abusive and evil speech.

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that Lady Barbara's husband was Alexander Lord Gordon, son and heir of George 4th Earl of Huntley. The Peerage writers, on the other hand, say she was the second daughter, Lady Margaret, and state that Lady Barbara was married to James Lord Fleming, ancestor of the Earls of Wigton. In 1549, the name of Lord Fleming is not once mentioned, nor while the Duke of Chatellerault was Governor.

After carefully examining the matter, I think these contradictory statements may be thus explained.

Alexander Lord Gordon, who was married in 1549, died during his father's life, without issue, and his next brother, George, became heir-apparent before April, 1553, as we find him styled in Charters of that date George Lord Gordon. He also married a daughter, the Lady Anne Hamilton, in 1558; and four years later he succeeded to the Earldom of Huntley. He died in May, 1576.

James, fourth Lord Fleming who succeeded his father in 1547, on the 21st of December, 12th year of Mary [1554], granted by Charter under the Great Seal part of the Barony of Lenzie in favour of Lady Barbara Hamilton, his spouse. He was then a youth, not twenty years of age. Five years later this lady was again a widow, Lord Fleming being one of the three deputies sent to France, who died prematurely on their return in December, 1558, not without strong suspicions of having been poisoned. He left one daughter, who afterwards married for her first husband Sir John Maitland Lord Thirlestone, High Chancellor of Scotland.—*D. L.*

In these *Minor Poems* Lauder appears as a sterner and more earnest Reformer than in his *Office and Dewtie of Kyngis* written thirteen years before; and our estimate of him must rise accordingly. The *Office*, printed in 1556, was 'laitlie compylit be' him. We may fairly ask 'what in that year, or the years just before, should have made our Poet think specially of this theme; what Kyng or Ruler in his own land he wished to advise,—for he could hardly hope that his words would reach any other than Scotch ears—?' Works like the *Office* are generally called out by some special occasion:—compare

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the advice to the 'kingis of tender age' (p. 49, line 1658) in the *Lancelot of the Laik*, edited for us by Mr Skeat, which he shows was probably meant for the young James III., ab. 1478 A.D.; and as Lauder had a special cause for writing his *Minor Poems*, so I believe that he had one for writing the *Office*. In 1554, Mary of Guise, the French mother of the infant Queen, not yet thirteen, was made Regent of Scotland. Her misrule of the land was to be great, though of her "it was justly said that her talents and virtues were her own; her errors and faults the effect of her deference to the advice of others, and especially of her aspiring brothers."[1] Her first act almost was,

> The Queene chaunged al the Officers, & made the Earle of Cassels thresorer, and Veilmort a Frenchman Controller; also an other Frenchman called Monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, in place of the Earle of Huntley, who was Chauncellour, and then in warde. These mens counsell, and Monsieur Doysels, she vsed principally in al things. (Holinshed, *The Hystorie of Scotland*, i. 482, col. 2, ed. 1577.)

Mary of Guise was a strong Papist; she was to try, at least, to persecute the Protestants, and for that end to plunge Scotland into the civil war, from the troubles of which and her own dropsical disorder she died in 1560. Coming events cast their shadows before. In 1555 and 1556, Lauder might well have seen special reason, in the temper of Mary of Guise and her advisers, to think and to write 'On the Office and Dewtie of Kyngis', as well as that of 'Spirituall Pastoris and Temporall Iugis'.

After that, he wrote for Queen Mary's first marriage in the summer of 1558,—when she was but sixteen,—a Play (Mr D. Laing's biography, *Office*, p. vii.). Then came the Reformation in 1560, the beautiful young widowed Queen's return to Scotland in 1561 (Aug. 19), and her second marriage, on the 29th of July, 1565, with the handsome, dissolute, vicious, and passionate Darnley, who was thereupon proclaimed King of Scotland. It would have been well for Darnley had he pondered over Lauder's warning on 'quhat sall becum to kyngis that contynewis in Iniquitie, and neclectis thair offices,' how

[1] Sir W. Scott's *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 65.

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'3our vitious lyfe, and couatyce,
And the abusyng of 3our offyce,
Vsand 3our fleschelie vane plesuris
Oppressand 3our pure creaturis,
And 3our fals glosing of the wrang,
Sall nocht mak 3ow to rax heir lang.'
Office, p. 7, l. 127-132.

His strangled corpse in the garden near the Kirk of Field[1] on Sunday night, the 9th of February, 1567, need not then have turned Lauder's words into a prophecy; a prophecy fulfilled again in Mary's own abdication five months afterwards. Her infant son, little more than a year old, was crowned at Stirling on the 29th of July, 1567.

Well, the dissolute Darnley's accomplices murder her favourite Rizzio in Mary's presence. A few hours after she has left her husband, he is murdered, and his house is blown into the air—undoubtedly, I think, with her connivance[2]—by the hirelings of a greater—and an ugly—brute, whom she marries, after he has, to secure her, divorced his own wife. Mary's abdication follows; her imprisonment too; civil war breaks out; famine and pestilence ravage the land; selfishness and self-seeking abound; and at last Lauder speaks,—not to kings, but to People; not to point the moral of his earlier work; facts did that;—but because of the social wrongs around him, of 'the miserabill estait of this present world;

This warld is war nor euer it was!
Full of myscheif and all malice! . . . .
How lang, Lorde, sall this warld indure?

In 1568 there was enough in the political condition of Scotland to make any patriot raise his voice. What especially was there in the social and moral state of the country to make it needful for a faithful Minister of the Word of God to speak out?

First, Famine; secondly, Plague, says Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, both of which called forth a hellish display of the greed and selfishness of the rich, and not only made Lauder

[1] The name of the Church near which was the house in which Darnley was blown up by Bothwell and his men.
[2] See J. Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, iv. 344-5, ed. 1868.

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indignant, but good Dr Gilbert Skeyne sad. First, then, of the Famine :

"1567-8. In consequence of an extremely dry summer, the yield of grain and herbage in 1567 was exceedingly defective. The ensuing winter being unusually severe, there was a sad failure of the means of supporting the domestic animals. A stone of hay came to be sold in Derbyshire at 5*d.* (*Holinshed's Chronicle*), which seems to have been regarded as a starvation price. There was a general mortality among the sheep and horses. In Scotland, the opening of 1568 was marked by scarcity and all its attendant evils.

'There was,' says a contemporary chronicler (*Historie of King James the Sext*, 1825), 'exceeding dearth of cornes, in respect of the penury thereof in the land, and that beforehand a great quantity thereof was transported to other kingdoms : for remeed whereof inhibitions were made sae far out of season, that nae victual should be transported furth of the country under the pain of confiscation. even then when there was no more left either to satisfy the indigent people, or to plenish the ordinar mercats of the country as appertenit.'"

[1] 'For the entres of the next 3eir, 1568, thair was exceeding dearth of cornes in respect of scant in the countrey, that so mikle was transportit to other kingdomes : for remeid quhairoff, inhibitions were maid so farr out of season, that na victuall should be transportit out of the contrie under the paine of confiscatioun : even quhen thair was na mair ather to satisfie the people, or to plenishe the common mercattis of the countrie as appertenit.' *The Historie of King James the Sext.* Ed. M. L[aing.] Edinburgh, 1804, p. 33-4.

Let the reader now turn to lines 456-497 of Lauder's *Godlie Tractate*, p. 17-19 below, and see what he says of this Dearth, and how he lashes the greedy rich who let the poor die without mercy, while they, every fat Sow of them, feed and flatter one another :[2]

¶ 3our gredynes, it stink*is* and fylis the air ! 468
I vg[3] 3our Murthour and Hirschip[4] to declair !
For thocht 3e sla nocht pure men with 3our knyues,
3it with 3our dearth 3e tak from thame the lyues.

[1] As the first published copy varies a little from the other, I give it in a second column.

[2] See too p. 26, l. 9-12.

[3] shudder, loathe.

[4] harrying, plundering.

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¶ Quhat differs dearth frome creuell briganrye,
Quhen that ȝe mak the Pure for hunger dye?
No thing at all, most trewlie to conclude,
Except of thame ȝe do nocht draw the blude,
For ȝe contryne[1] thame,—as wyse men merkis and seis,—
Till one of thir two grit Extremiteis;
Till vtter hirschip,[2] with bying of thair fude;
And want tha money? than schortlie to conclude,
Thair is no credeit, bot of Necessitie,
The Pure Broder, for Hunger he man die.

¶ God send ȝow nocht the Uictall of the ground
That ȝe the pepill suld Fameis and confound;
Bot that ȝe sould thair-of gude Stewarts be,
Helpand the Pure in thair necessite.
¶ Wo be till him that hurdis vp his Corne,
Syne kepis it vp to dearth, fra morne to morne[3]!
Bot Gods blissing sall lycht vpon his head,
That latis it furth, that pure men may get bread.
¶ Bot as ȝe cloise ȝour Girnallis frome the puris,
Quhilkis now thairby grit miserie induris,
So God sall cloise on ȝow, for ȝour grit Sin,
His Heauinlie Porte, quhen that ȝe wald faine cum in.
¶ So on this wyse quhen that ȝe scurge the pure,
God sall ȝow Plaig agane for that, be sure!

Secondly, on the people thus weakened by want, fell the Plague.

"In 1568, Edinburgh and other parts of the country suffered grievously from the plague:

'The plague beginning to rage in Edinburgh, in a dreadful and destructive manner, the following Regulations and Orders were made by the Council, to prevent its spreading.'

"These 'Statuts for the Baillies of the Mure and ordering of the Pest' you will find in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 31, etc." (D. Laing.)

Here, too, Chambers helps us by his extracts from the *Diurnal* and Dr Skeyne, and his account of the measures taken in Edinburgh to stay the plague, for which the reader must refer to the *Domestic*

[1] ? *Contraindre*, constrain; or, 'contrive.'

[2] scarcity, want. (As the effect of devastation. *Jamieson.*)

[3] The modern Political-Economy defence of the hoarders is all very well when you have a proper Poor-Law, though there are limits to the doctrine even then; but when you 've nothing that can be called a Poor-Law, as in 1568 (see Sir G. Nicholls's *Hist. of the Scotch Poor-Law*), matters are altered.

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Annals, or *Maitland*, as above. The extracts from Skeyne I enlarge, as I like the man.

1568, Sep. 8. 'Ane called James Dalgliesh, merchant, brought the pest int[o] Edinburgh.'—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, 1513-75 (Maitland Club, 4to. 1833).

[1] 'Sen it hes plesit the inscrutabill Consall and Iustice of God, (Beneuolent readar) that this present plaig and maist detestabil diseise of Pest, be laitlie enterit in this Realme, it becummis euerie one in his awin vocatione to be not only most studious, be perfectioun of lyfe, to mitigat apperandlie the iuste wrathe of God touart vs, in this miserable tyme: Bot also to be maist curagius in suffering of trauail, for the aduancement of the commoun weilth. I, beand mouit in that part, *seand the pure of Christ inlaik*,[2] *without assistance of support in bodie, al men detestand aspectioun, speche, or communicatioun with thame*, thoucht expedient to put schortlie in wryte (as it hes plesit God to supporte my sober knawlege) quhat becummis euerie ane baith for preseruatioun and cure of sic diseise, quhairin (gude readar) thou sall nather abyde greit eruditioun nor eloquence, bot onlie the sentence and iugement of the maist ancient writaris in medicine expressit in vulgar langage without poleit or affectionat termis.'

The second passage in which Skeyne speaks of the cruel neglect of the poor by the rich is at the end of his treatise. After he has told people that the advice of Physicians is necessary, because every one is blinder than the mole in such things as concern their own health,[3] he adds,

'And besyde that, euerie ane is becum sa detestable to vther (quhilk is to lamentit). *And speciallie the pure in sicht of the riche, as gif thay var not equall with thame twichand thair Creatioun, bot rather without saule or spirite, as beistis degenerat fra mankynd.* Quhairfoir lat vs hvmble our selfis in presence of our God and Father of all consolatioun, that be the intercessioun of Iesus Christ our Saluiour, and of his mercy & grace, he will indue vs with the

[1] *Skeyne's Tracts, Bannatyne Club*: '*To the Readar.*'

[2] want, (and thence, as here,) perish.

[3] 'Considerand alwayis as thair is diuersite of tyme, cuntray, aige and consuetude to be obseruit in tyme of ministratioun of ony medicine preseruatiue or curatiue, ewin sa thair is diuers kyndis of pest, quhilkis may be eisely knawin and diuidit be weil lernit Phisicianis, quhais conseill in tyme of sic dangeir of lyfe is baith profitable and necessar, in respect that in this pestilenciall diseis euerie ane is mair blind nor the Moudeuart [mole] in sic thingis as concernis thair awin helth.'—p. 44, *Skeyne's Tracts, Bannatyne Club.*

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spreit of repentance, that vnfenzeitlie we may conuerte vs vnto him, reformand our deprauat and corrupt leuing in tymis by past; And also apply ourselfis in tymis cumming, to the obedience of his Godly will and obseruing of his commandementis, that thairby he may not onlie remoue sic punischment and Plaig frome vs, Bot also that baith riche and puir may leue in sic Godly and ciuill societie, as may be agreable to his godlie will, that finallie we may be participant of his kingdome preparit for his Electe fra the beginning.'

The good Doctor gives plenty of directions and prescriptions how to treat the plague, but, as above seen, his first call is to repentance :—

'The principal preseruatiue cure of the pest, is, to return to God, quha is maist puissant, with ane affectionat and ardent will and hart, to imploir the support of his Maiestie, be the intercessioun of his deir Sone Iesus Christ, to pacifie his wrathe aganis vs, takand away sic punischement: and as he hes saifit vs fra eternall deithe, so he wald saif vs fra sick corporall dethe, quhilk iustlie for oure demeritis persecutis vs. Thairfor, not pretermittand sic support as it hes plesit his Godlie will to schaw vs, be guid succes of dew prescriptioun of nature, be quhilk meanis reasone prescryuis preseruatioun to consist in twa thingis: first to prepair the bodie apte to purgatioun: Secundly to mak it quhilk may offend debile in actione or impressioun[1].'—(*Skeyne's Tracts*, p. 17.)

"This pestilence," says Chambers (*Dom. Ann.* i. 55), "lasting till February [156$\frac{8}{9}$], is said to have carried off 2500 persons in Edinburgh, which could not be much less than a tenth of the population."

Before we quit the Plague, let us notice that during it, one George Bannatyne, a Scotch lawyer's son, retired alone—not like Boccaccio's feigned ten (seven fair ladies, and three lovers of some of them) to their country-house, near Florence, for ten days, during the terrible Black Plague of 1348—into the country, and there for three months copied into his *Ballat Buik* '372 poems covering no less than 800 folio pages.'[2] It 's an ill wind that blows nobody good.

[1] Under Nov. 18, 1568, Chambers says, "In this time of dearth and pestilence, the council of the Canongate providently ordained that 'the fourpenny loaf be weel baken and dried, gude and sufficient stuff, and keep the measures and paik [stroke] of twenty-two ounces;' 'that nae browsters nor ony tapsters, sell ony dearer ale nor 6*d.* the pint;' and 'that nae venters of wine buy nae new wine dearer than that they may sell the same commonly to all our sovereign's lieges for 16*d.* the pint.' "—*Dom. Ann.* i. 58.

[2] *Domestic Annals*, i. 58: "A pleasing memorial of this visitation remains in the Manuscript Collections of George Bannatyne, after three months' labour,

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On the Harlotry of which Lauder complains in his *Godlie Tractate*, p. 19,

¶ I neid nocht rekkin ȝour filthye Harlotrie :
It is so knawin, our alquhair, oppinlie ;
Quhilk to rehearse, It mak[i]s me abhor, 500

and to dissuade men from which, he wrote a separate poem, the *Gude Exempill*, p. 38, below, we may compare the following article from the General Assembly of the Kirk and Nobles, &c., to the Queen in 1565, printed in Knox's Works, vol. ii., p. 486 :

'Fifthly, That such horrible crimes as now abound within this Realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his Word; such as Idolatry, blasphemie of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, sorcery, inchantment, *adultery, manifest whoredome, maintenance of bordals*, murther, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished ; and Judges appointed in every province and diocesse, for execution thereof, with power to do the same and that by Act of Parliament.'—*Articles of the General Assembly met in Edinburgh on the 25th June*, 1565.

Going back three years earlier, we find another complaint of the Kirk, which we may quote, not only because it dwells on the general vices of the people, but also touches the superstition of the Mass, and the debauched lives of the Romish clergy, on which Lauder dwells on p. 13 of his Godlie Tractate, and which Lyndesay lashed so bitterly in his *Satyre*, p. 422-3, 452, 481, 498 (on Prelates' daughters, &c., 518, 523), 504-6, 517, 534, 538, &c. of the Society's edition. The complaint also notices the sad state of the poor labourers, and the iniquitous cheating of the poor Ministers by the nobles, who kept back their scanty salaries and made them live a beggar's life, a subject to which we shall return below (p. xx.).

In 'The Supplication of the Assemblye of the Kyrk,' 29 June, 1562, to the Queen and her Privy Council, *Knox's Works*, ii. 338-41, the Assembly say :

—and hard work it must have been,—as appears from the Valedictory Address at the end of the Preface :

'The Writtar to the Readare.
Heir endis this Buik, writtin in tyme of pest,
Quhen we fra labor was compeld to rest,
In to the thre last moneths of this yeir, &c.' [1568]."—D. Laing.

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'that your Grace and Counsall may understand what be the thingis we desyre to be reformed, we will begyn at that quhilk we assuredlie know to be the fontane and spring of all other evillis that now abound in this Realme, to wit, That idoll and bastard service of God, the Messe; the fontane, we call it, of all impietie, not only becaus that many tack boldnes to syn be reassone of the opinioun which thei have conceaved of that idoll, to wit, That by the vertew of it, thei get remissioun of thair synnes; but also becaus that under the cullour of the Messe, are hoores, adulteraris, drunkardis, blasphemaris of God, of His holy Word and Sacramentis, and such other manifest malefactouris, manteaned and defended: for lett any Messe-sayare, or earnest manteanar thairof, be deprehended in any of the foirnamed crymes, no executioun can be had, for all is done in haiterent of his religioun; and so are wicked men permitted to live wickedlie, clocked and defended by that odious idoll.'

This causes the Quenis religioun to have many favouraris.

'The Secound that we requyre, is punishement of horrible vices, sic as ar *adultery, fornicatioun, open hurdome*, blasphemye, contempt of God, of his Word, and Sacramentis; quhilkis in this Realme, for lack of punishement, do evin now so abound, that syne is reputed to be no syne. And tharfoir, as that we see the present signes of Goddis wrath now manifestlie appear, so do we foirwarne, that he will stryck, or it be long, yf his law without punishement be permitted thus manifestlie to be contempned. Yf any object, that punishementis can nott be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; We answer that the eternall God in his Parliament has pronounced death to be the punishement for adulterye and for blasphemye; whose actis yf ye putt not to executioun (seing that kingis are but his lieutennentis, having no power to geve lyefe, whair he commandis death,) as that he will reputt you, and all otheris that foster vice, patronis of impietie, so will he nott faill to punishe you for neglecting of his judgementis.

Grudgeing of the nobilitie one against other.

Our Third requeast concerneth the Poore, who be of thre sortis: the poore lauboraris of the ground; the poore desolat beggaris, orphelyns, wedoes, and strangaris; and the poore ministeris of Christ Jesus, his holie evangell, quhilk ar all so crewallie entreated by this last pretended Ordour tacken for sustentatioun of Ministeris, that thair latter miserie far surmonteth the formar. For now the poore lauboraris of the ground ar so oppressed by the creualtie of those that pay thair Thrid, that they for the most parte advance upoun the poore, whatsoever they pay to the Quene, or to any other. As for the verray indigent and poore, to whome God commandis a sustentatioun to be provided of the Teyndis, they ar so dyspised, that it is a wonder that the sone geveth heat and lycht to the earth, whair Godis name is so frequentlie called upoun, and no mercy (according to his commandiment) schawin to his creaturis. And also for the

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Ministeris, thair lyvingis ar so appointed, that the most parte shall lyve but a beggaris lyef. And all cumeth of that impietie, that the idill bellies of Christis ennemyes mon be fedd in thair formare delicacie.'

Against these, and other vices that Lauder denounced, his threat, as he wrote, was being fulfilled, though the poor, as usual, got most of the punishment that ought to have fallen on the rich:

For Disobedience vnto Gods wourd, 628
3e sall be Plagit with Hunger, Pest, and swourd,
With Hirschip, Fyre, with Dearth, and Pestelence,
Because 3e Sin aganis 3our Conscience; (*Godlie Tractate*, p. 22);

and the scenes around him justify his outcry in his *Lamentatioun*:

¶ For to behauld this Miserie,
My breist in baill it dois combure;
Sen reuth is none, nor 3it Pitie,
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 84

As a proof that the evils of which Lauder complains were of some standing, we may quote from the very striking and socially-valuable poem of Alexander Scott, 'Ane New-Yeir Gift to the Quene Mary, quhen scho come first hame,' 1561. The coincidence is marked of the lines in italics below, and the 'Works to agree with Words' (*Godlie Tractate*, p. 23), the 'Gredie Idole Averice' (*ib.* p. 20, l. 547), 'Couatyce a worse Idol than the Mass' (p. 21-2, l. 601-2), the grasping Landlords, the Labourers and Tenants turned out of their holdings (*ib.* p. 19-20, l. 528-536).

[1]'As Beis tak Wax and Honey of the Floure,
So does the Faithful of God's Word tak Fruit;
As Wasps receive frae aff the same but sour,
Sae Reprobates the Scripture dois rebute,

[1] pp. 8—11 *of Ramsay's Evergreen* ('Leicester to Mary'). This bad copy having been set before I knew of Mr David Laing's excellent edition of Alexander Scott's Works from George Bannatyne's MS, 1568 A.D., I add Mr Laing's text here;—Scott is a man we ought to know more of in England:—

As bèis takkis walx and honye of the floure,
So dois *the* faythfull of Goddis word tak frute;
As waspis ressauis of *the* same bot soure,
So reprobatis Christis buke dois rebute:

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Words without Warks availeth not a Cute,
To seis thy Subjects sae in Luve and Feir,
That Richt and Reason in thy Realm m[a]y rute,
God give thee Grace agains this gude new ȝeir!

'The Epistles and Evangells now are Preicht,
Bot Sophestrie or Ceremonys vain;
Thy People, maist Part, truely now are teicht
To put away Idolatrie prophane;
But in sum Hearts is graven new again,
An Image callit cursd Covetice of Geir;
Now to expell that Idol stands up plain,
God give thee Grace agains this gude new ȝeir!

'For Sum are sene at Sermons, sum sa haly,
Singand Sanct David's Psalter on their Buiks,
And are but Biblists fairsing full their Belly,
Backbytand Nybours, noying them in Nuiks,
Ruggand and reivand up Kirk Rents lyke Rukes;
Lyke very Wasps against God's Word mak Weir;
Now sic Christians to kiss with Chanters Kirks,
God give thee Grace agains this gude new ȝeir!

'Dewtie and Detts are driven by Doubleness,
And Folks are flemit frae ȝung Faith Professors,
The greatest ay the greidyar, I gess,
To plant quhere Preists and Parsons were Possessors.

Wordis, *with*out werkis, availȝeis no*cht* a cute:
To seiss thy subiectis so in luf and feir,
That rycht and reasoun in thy realme may rute,
God gife *thé* grace aganis *th*is gude new-ȝeir.

The epistollis and evangelis now ar prechit,
But sophistrie or ceremoneis vaine;
Thy pepill, maist pairt, trewlie now ar techit,
To put away Idolatrie prophaine:
Bot in sum hartis is gravit new agane,
Ane Image, callit cuvatyce of geir;
Now, to expell *th*at idoll standis vp plane,
God gif *thé* grace aganis *th*is gude new-ȝeir.

For sum quhen sene at sermonis seme sa halye,
Singand Sanct *Dauidis* psalter on *th*air bukis,
And ar bot biblistis fairsing full *th*air bellie,
Bakbytand ny*cht*bouris noyand *th*ame in nwikis,
Ruging and raisand vp kirk-rentis lyke ruikis;
As werrie waspis aganis Goddis word makis weir:
Sic Christianis to kiss w*ith* chanteris kuikis,
God gife *thé* grace aganis *th*is gude new-ȝeir.

Dewtie and dettis ar drevin by dowbilnes,
Auld folkis ar flemit fra ȝung fayth professouris,
The grittest ay, the greddiar I gess,
To plant quhair preistis and personis wer possessouris;

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Teinds are uptane by Testament Transgressors.
Credence is past of Promise, thocht they sweir,
To punish Palmers, and reproach Oppressors,
God give thee Grace agains this gude new ȝeir!

'Puir Folk are famist with their Fassions new,
They fail for Falt that had before at fouth,
Leil Labourers lament and Tennants trew,
That they ar hurt and herriet North and South,
The Heidsmen have "*Cor mundum*" in their Mouth,
But nevir mynd to give the Man his Meir,
To quench thir quent Calamities so cowth,
God give thee Grace agains this gude new ȝeir!

'Protestands tak the Friers auld Antetewme
Ready Resavers, but to render nocht,
So *Lairds uplift Men's Leiving*, ower thy Rewme,
And are richt crabit quhen they crave them ocht[1]:
Be they unpaid, thy Pursevants are socht,
To pund pure Commons Corn and Cattle keir,
To vissy all thir wrangous Warks are wrocht,
God give thee Grace agains the gude new ȝeir!'

On the Sorcery that Lauder denounces in his *Lamentatioun*, l. 33-36, p. 27 below, we need only refer to the many witch-trials of the period, and may quote two passages from Knox's *Fourt Book of*

Teindis ar vptane be testament transgressouris;
Credence is past, off promeiss thocht thaj sweir:
To punisch Papistis and reproche oppressouris,
God gif thé grace aganis this gude new-ȝeir.

Pure folk ar famist with thir fassionis new,
Thaj faill for falt that had befoir at fouth;
Leill labouraris lamentis, and tennentis trew,
That thaj ar hurt, and hareit north and south:
The heidismen hes "*cor mundum*" in thair mouth,
Bot nevir with mynd to gif the man his meir:
To quenche thir quent calamiteis so cowth,
God gife thé grace aganis this gude new-ȝeir.

Protestandis takis the freiris auld antetewme,
Reddie ressauaris bot to rander nocht;
So lairdis vpliftis mennis leifing ouir thy rewme,
And ar rycht crabit quhen thaj crave thame ocht,
Be thaj vnpayit, thy pursevandis ar socht,
To pund pure communis corne and cattell keir:
To wisy all thir wrangus workis ar wrocht,
God gife thé grace againis this gude new-ȝeir.

D. Laing's edition (1821) of Alex. Scott's Poems, pp. 8—10, ll. 105—152.

[1] See Lyndesay's *Satyre*, p. 474, lines 2567-77.

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the Progresse and Continuance of Treu Religioun within Scotland (Works, ii. 391), under the year 1563: "Justice-Courtis war halden; thevis and murtheraris war punished; *twa witches war burnt;* the eldest was so blynded with the Devill, that sche affirmed, 'That na Judge had power ower hir.'" Also, p. 357:

'The Erle [of Huntley] immediatlie after his tacken, departed this lyiff without any wound, or yitt appearance of any strock, whairof death might have enseued; and so, becaus it was laitt, he was cassen over-thorte a pair of crealles, and so was caryed to Abirdene, and was laid in the Tolbuyth thairof, that *the response whiche his wyffis wyttches had gevin* mycht be fulfilled, whay all affirmed (as the most parte say) that that same nycht should he be in the Tolbuyth of Abirdene without any wound upoun his body. When his Lady gatt knowledge thairof, sche blamed *hir principale witche called Janet;* but sche stoutlie defended hir self, (as the devill can ever do), and affirmed that she geve a trew answer, albeit she spack nott all the treuth; for she knew that he should be thair dead: but that could nott proffeit my Lady. Scho was angrye and sorye for a seassone, but the Devill, the Messe, and *wyttches* have als great credyte of hir this day as thei had sevin yearis ago.'

Another point that evidently came home to Lauder, was the scornful treatment of 'virtewus men that laketh Ryches' (p. 36). He, no doubt, had found himself, and seen others of the able godly men around him, scorned and snubbed by the rich of his time, not allowed to defile the floor of dainty dames (p. 28, l. 57), thrust aside to make room for a rich idiot, a blunt bubo, a beast with bags (p. 36-7), or a flatterer, bragger, or brothel-haunter. As Knox said in his Sermon vpon Sonday the 19 of August 1565, for the which he 'was inhibite preaching for a season' (leaf 14, back, ed. 1566):

"Now haue the wicked their counsels, their thrones, & finally, handeling for the most part of al things that are vpon the face of the earth; but the pore seruants of God are reputed *vnworthy of mens presence;* yea, they are *more vile* before these proude tyraunts, *than is very dirt and mire that is troden vnder fote.*"

'Money before Morals' was Society's motto then, as now; and our Reformer was right in denouncing it. Lauder had seen with his own eyes, as he tells us (p. 13, l. 319, below), Popish Cardinals as companions of Scottish Kings: they, corrupt in doctrine, impure in life, oppressors of the poor, as Lyndesay shows in his

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Satyre. He now saw his own fellows, pure in doctrine, pure in life, helpers of the poor, treated like beggars by the mere rich. And he rightly told these snobs that God would punish them for their baseness.

The rascally plunder of Church-property by the Scotch nobles—"couetous clawbaks of the new court," Knox calls some in his Preface to the Sermon just quoted,—which we have already noticed, p. xv. above, had left the Ministers poor. Parliament had decreed, says Sir Walter Scott, in his *History of Scotland*, ii. 72,

"that the church property, whether in the hands of the bishops or of lay titulars,—as the lay impropriators were called,—should be liable to be taxed to the extent of one third of their amount, for the support of the Protestant clergy; and a committee was appointed to *modify*, as it was called, the especial stipends payable in every individual case, reserving by far the greatest proportion of the fund in reversion to the prelatic possessor or lay titular. The obvious selfishness of these enactments give just offence to the clergy. John Knox, deeply incensed at the avarice of the nobility, pronounced from the pulpit of Edinburgh, that two parts of the Church revenue were bestowed on the devil, and a third divided between God and the devil. A hundred marks Scottish (not six pounds sterling) was the usual allowance *modified* to the minister of a parish: some parishes were endowed with a stipend of thrice that amount; and the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of the National Church, consisting of a thousand parishes, was about three thousand five hundred pounds a year, which paltry endowments were besides irregularly paid, and very much begrudged. When it is considered how liberal the ancient kings and governors of Scotland had been to the Church of Rome, it appears that in this point, as of all others in doctrine and discipline, the Scottish Reformers had held a line of conduct diametrically opposite to that pursued by their Catholic ancestors. This unkindly parsimony towards themselves was the more acutely felt by the Protestant preachers, as the principal lords of the congregation, and the lord James of St Andrew's himself, were the persons by whom these miserable stipends were *modified*. 'Who would have thought,' said the ardent Knox, 'that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren would have come down thither for corn, and returned with their sacks empty? Men would have thought that Pharaoh's storehouse would have been emptied ere the sons of Jacob were placed in risk of starving for hunger.' Wisheart of Pittarrow, a zealous reformer, was appointed Comptroller, to levy and pay the allotted stipends; but as the poor Ministers complained to heaven and earth that they were not able to obtain payment even of the small pittance allowed them, it became a common phrase to bless the

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good laird of Pittarrow as a sincere professor, but bid the devil receive the Comptroller as a greedy extortioner."[1]

We may also hear, as to the scanty provision for the poor Ministers, the Address of

"The Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of the Churches reformed within this realme of Scotlande, assembled in Edenbrough the .xxv. daye of December .1565. to all faithfull within the same realme, desire grace and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lorde Iesus Christ, with the perpetual *com*fort of the holye Ghost." —p. 1.

"The sorrowfull complayntes of all ministers in generall, and of some nowe more to be lamented in others in particuler, being considered in this oure last assembly (beloued in the Lord Iesus), diuers men were of diuers iudgementes, howe the griefe and pouertie of such as faithfully trauayle in their vocation within the Church of God somewhat might be relieued."—pp. 1, 2.

"With what conscience can we eate oure owne bread, and know the bowels of such as offers to vs the breade of lyfe, and minister to vs spirituall things, to craue of God and vs but a reasonable sustentation; and yet can not finde suche fauour at oure handes, as Turkes finde amongest Turkes, and Iewes amongest that blinded nation."—p. 3.

"Now if we think that none within Scotlande lackes true faith, yea, if we thinke that our children can attayne to the right knowledge of God without true doctrine, then maye we dreame with our selues, that ministers are not necessarie, and so are we nothing addicted vnto them? But if that faith commeth by hearing .... of God's worde, and that God's word is not sent vnto vs absolutely from heauen by Aungels, but is planted by the holy spirite in the heartes and mouthes of men whome God of his mercye sendes forth into the world, to sowe therin the seede of his Euangell, we can not but *con*fesse our selues detters to our ministers. The dispisers of whome, yea all suche as to their power supporte them not in their necessities, are before his throne iudged contempners of his owne maiestie. And therfore yet once againe, let euery faithfull[2] consider what is his duetie, and let vs abhor that ingratitude that we shuld suffer *the seruants of the Lorde Iesus to begge, or trauaile in pouerty before our eyes*, for if we doe, we banishe from vs Iesus Christ and the light of his euangell."—pp. 8, 9.

Many a fatt Souch's[3] descendants still feed on the plunder of the

[1] As to the smallness of Ministers' stipends, see too *Knox's Works*, ii. p. 311, 312, 340, 342, 383, 470, 485, 489, and that they could not get them paid, ii. 511, 517.

[2] faithful person.

[3] p. 17, l. 460; p. 26, l. 9.

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poor Ministers, while the successors of Lauder and his worthy fellows have little more, comparatively, than the beggarly pittances of old.

The 'prophane Monstruus hose' of which Lauder speaks, p. 17, l. 425, were doubtless those described by Stubbes as worn in England in and before 1583:

"The gally-hosen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece, laid down along either hose. And the Venetian hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the leg, where they are tyed finely with silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace, or gardes, as the other before. And yet notwithstanding, all this is not sufficient, except they be made of silk, velvet, saten, damask, and other such precious things besides. . . In times past, kings . . . would not disdaine to weare a paire of hosen of a noble, tenne shillinges, or a marke, price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, *twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, of one paire of breeches.* (God be mercifull unto us!) . . ." p. 58, *Collier's Reprint*, 1869.

The great excesse used in hosen.

See on this point Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 208-213, with the cuts and quotations he gives, including part of that above from Stubbes. These 'monstruus' breeches[1] were stuft with wool, flax, and hair—as the ballad 'A lamentable Complaint of the Countreymen for the Loss of their Cattelles Tails' tells (*Fairholt*, p. 211).

On the Martyrs in Lauder's days,—whom he says (*Godlie Tractate*, p. 24, l. 676-81) he saw suffer patiently most cruel death, and yet might have had life, wife, and bairns, if they'd have refused the Word of God—we cannot do better than take a few passages from his contemporary, Henry Charteris's, Preface to Sir David Lyndesay's *Warkis*, published in the same year as Lauder's own *Tractate*, 1568. Charteris, asking why the Papist Prelates, whose vices and ignorance Lyndesay so openly and wittily exposed, have not been able to get hold of him and burn him, says:

Sum will think because he was continuallie in Court, and seruit the King, he was esilie ouersene. Bot in my iugement, that is the

[1] Compare too, in 1598, *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen*, p. 138 (ed. 1868, Roxburghe Library): "Northeren Carsies are not now weareable in Breetches, for it will shrinke, and the fashion is now to haue Venetians of the largest size: yf they will not holde a bushell a breetch, they are not saleable in Birtchen lane."

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greiter cause of offence: namelie to haif thair vaniteis and wickitnes publischit in Court, and sicht of Princis. Nouther culd this be saiftie to vtheris; M. Patrik Hammiltoun, Abbot of Feirn, being of the blude Royall, being ane man of greit literature, and of sic lyfe that the verray enemeis thame selfis war enforcit to commend and allow him, ȝit did he nocht eschaip thair malice, bot sufferit cruell deith be fyre. Robert Forester, alswa gentilman, on the samin maner was tormentit.

Again, after instancing the Martyrdoms in England and abroad, Charteris says:

Now our Prelates laith to ly behind, willing to schaw *th*air gude seruice to *th*e halie Sait, apprehendit heir in Scotland, Paull Craw, teiching the doctrine quhilk Uicleif & Hus had teichit, & maid ane Sacrifice of him in Sanctandrois. And findand the sawour of this Sacrifice fragrant and smelland, thay tuke the Uicar of Dolour, Freir Kelour, Symsone, Bawerage, Kennedie, Stratoun, Gourlay, and mony ma, quha, because *th*ai culd not allow *th*air vaine superstitiones and Idolatries, expres aganis the commandement of *th*e Lord thair God, war cuttit of be the fyre. Thay had now lernit to dispute with fyre & faggot; for our auld Bischoppis & Pastouris war decayit, quhilkis war wont to be lampis, and as it war leidsternis, to all nationis adiacent.

A little further on, Charteris adds:

And yit ane lytill befoir his [Lyndesay's] deith thay brint M. George Uischart[1], and Adam Wallace, Mariner. And schortlie efter our Authouris deith thay tuke the auld man Walter Mill, and cruellie brint him: althocht fra that fyre rais sic ane stew, quhilk struke sic sturt to thair stemokis, that thay rewit it euer efter.

On the general evils in Scotland in 1568, Charteris says:

And gif he [Lyndesay] had leifit in *th*ir lait dayis, quhat had he said of *th*e vnnatural murtheris: *th*e cruel slauchteris: *th*e manifest reiffis: *th*e continuall heirschippis: *th*e plane oppressionis: *th*e lytill regard of all persones to *th*e commoun weilth: *th*e mantening of derth, to the vniuersall hurt of the pure in transporting of victuallis furth of

[1] 1545. In the Lent season the Cardinall of S. Andrewes caused al the Bishoppes and Prelates of the Realme to assemble at the towne of S. Andrewes, where a learned man, named M. George WISEHART, that had bin in the Schooles of Germany, was accused of Heresie, which he had (as was alledged against him) publiquely preached and priuately taught in Dundee, Brechin, and dyuers other parts of Scotland, since hys return home. This matter was so vrged against him, that he was conuict, and brente there in the Towne of Saint Andrewes during the time of that conuention and assembly. *Holinshed's Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 465, ed. 1577. Wishart was martyred on March 28, 1546, new style.

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the Realme, *co*ntraire to *the* statutis *th*airof, for *the* particular weill of few, & hurt of mony; the Importing of greit quantiteis of fals cun3e, sklenderlie serchit, and lychtliar punischit: The multitude of Kirkis destitute of Ministeris throw the haill cu*n*trie: The slaw administratioun of Justice, and fer les executioun: with all kynde of impieteis (as it wer) publictlie and frelie Regna*n*d.

I come now to the point that made me take up these 'Minor Poems,' notwithstanding a vow to edit no more texts for the Society for a year, and thus get a rest for my right eye weakened by long night-work. The Poems, when thrown-up by the Editor of the *Office*, came to me as the Society's servant-of-all-work. My wife had kindly copied one volume of them in a hurry years ago, when they were to have gone through the press at once. Turning past her work to Mr Brock's copy of the *Godlie Tractate*, I was so struck with the likeness of its complaints to many of those in the "Ballads and Poems on the Condition of England in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reigns (A.D. 1520-47)," that I edited in 1868 for The Ballad Society, with a long set of illustrative extracts, that I resolved to take up the present little volume too.

Where we have in Lauder's *Godlie Tractate*, p. 20, l. 543-5,

> 3our housis halding is down, & laid on syde:
> Quhair hunders wount 3our faders to conuoye,
> Now will 3e ryde *with ane man and ane boye.*

we find in the English *Now-a-Dayes* (?ab. 1520 A.D.), l. 97-8 (Ballads from Manuscripts, p. 95),

> Temporall lordes be almost gone,
> Howsholdes kepe thei few or none,

and in Wm Stafford's Examination, 1584 A.D. (*ib.* p. 30-1), we hear the Knight complaining, though from poverty:

"so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of the countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vncalled, *with a man and a Lackey*[1] after him, where he was wonte to

[1] See too the richly-clad Nobleman 'attended *with onely one Man and a Page*' contrasted with him in his former condition, 'very homely apparreled,' but with 'a hundred or sixe score proper and personable men' after him, in *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruing Men*, 1598, p. 155, ed. 1868, Roxburghe Library.

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keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides, euery day in the weeke."

If we have in Lauder, *Godlie Tractate*, p. 22, l. 632-5,

> For Gods wourd wes neuer moir trewlie teachit
> Nor it is now in mony placis preachit,
> And neuer sa mony vngodlie pepill sene
> In to this earth, sen it Inhabit bene!

we find in *Vox Populi*, § 8, p. 138, l. 528-534,

> Goddes worde is well sett forth;
> hitt never was more preched,
> ner never so pleynely techede;
> hitt never was soe halloed,
> nor never soe lyttell fowloed,
> both of hygh and lowe [*orig.* hyght and lawe].

If we find in Lauder, *Godlie Tractate*, p. 21-2, l. 600-3,

> The Mes, that Idoll—praysit be God!—is past;
> Bot Couatyce, the quhilk is cum in last,
> Is the worst Idoll of the twa, be fer,

we see in *Vox Populi*, p. 139, l. 536-41,

> we haue banyschyd superstysyon,
> but styll we kepe ambysyon;
> we haue showtt awaye all cloystre[r]es,
> but styll we kepe extorsyonares;
> we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese [abuse],
> but we haue convertyd theme to a worse vse.

Indeed, my English Ballad-volume may serve as an illustrative one to the present text[1], though two bitter complaints of the people of

[1] The clearance I alluded to in writing was this: "In Ross-shire, accordingly, it was undertaken on a great scale in 1792. The dissatisfaction produced was so great, that the most serious affrays took place, and the military had to act, and blood was shed before quiet was restored." This is from the *couleur-de-rose* Mr James Loch, the carrier-out of the Stafford-estate clearances, in his *Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford*, 1820, p. xviii. He says, however, that the same system of clearing men out for sheep had been carried on in the border counties 'during the period which elapsed between the union of the crowns and that of the kingdoms' of England and Scotland (*ib.* p. xvi.).

Those who wish to see how Mr Loch's *clearing* of the Stafford part of Sutherland was carried out—and sites for the Free Church refused there too—should read Hugh Miller's '*Sutherland as it was and is; or how a Country may be ruined*': Edinburgh, 1843. On p. 4 he quotes Sismondi's parallel of

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England, against the wholesale turning of arable land into pasture,—the ejectment of men for sheep—and the enclosure of commons, are not heard in Lauder's poems. For the former of these, Scotland's turn came, over two hundred years later[1], and bitter then too was the cry of her dispossessed poor. During landlords' rule, the rights of property got a good deal more enforced than its duties. The general opinion now about the Irish land-question seems to promise well for the treatment of the future English and Scotch ones.

The notes of the Editor of *The Office* were so many, on minute points of metre, inflexion, &c., that, though I disagree with several of them, I have not thought it worth while to trouble the reader with arguments about them, or to add notes on like points in the present text. Two misinterpreted words that I chance to have noticed, may be mentioned: 1. *Hearis*—p. 18, l. 520; p. 32, note on l. 520—is clearly *heirs*. 'Heirs & successors' is the regular legal and customary phrase; and as Lauder is speaking to kings, he would hardly say to them, 'you, your *Lords* and your Successors.' The Lords of Kings could only be the so-called Three Persons of the Trinity, and Lauder certainly can't have meant them. 2. *Lambmes*, Office, p. x., is not 'Lady-Mass,' but the A.Sax. '*Hláf-mæsse*, the loaf-mass or feast, Lammas-day' (Bosworth), Aug. 1, the feast of first-fruits. (This is altered in the revised edition, 1869.) As too I was originally answerable for the explanation on p. 30 of *The Office* note on the 1st *n* of *pringnant*, and the Palsgrave extract on p. 31, I may as well say that two men who know much more about the matter than I, hold me wrong. Mr J. A. H. Murray says that in Middle Scotch

Switzerland: "If the Counts of Kyburgh, of Lentzburgh, of Hapsburgh, and of Gruyeres, had been protected by the English laws, they would find themselves at the present day precisely in the condition in which the Earls of Sutherland were 20 years ago. Some of them would perhaps have had the same taste for *improvements*, and several republics would have been expelled from the Alps, to make room for flocks of sheep."

A Defence of the Highland clearances may be seen in "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a view of the Causes and probable Consequences of Emigration," by the Earl of Selkirk, London, 1805.

To Professor Blackie's kindness I owe the references to the authorities in this note.

[1] Cornelius de Vois, a Dutchman, in 1567-82, found Scotland and England 'both oppressed with poor people which beg from door to door for want of employment, and no man looketh to it.' Chambers's *Dom. Ann.* i. 50.

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change of the English *gn* into *ng* and *ngn* was very common, *conding*, *maling*, *syngis* and *syngnis* (for *signs*), &c. &c. being found; and Mr Alexander J. Ellis, one of our first living authorities on Pronunciation, writes:

"I have looked to the passage in Lauder, and the note. The passage from Palsgrave (cited in note on p. 30, l. 385) has, I think, no connection with the spelling *prengnant*. The point to be considered is whether in the sixteenth century *pregnant* was taken from the French with the French pronunciation, or from Latin with the current English pronunciation of Latin. I take the latter view. Now Salesbury's spelling of the Latin words *magnus*, *agnus*, *ignis*, &c., as *mangnus*, *angnus*, *ingnis*, &c., is quite distinct. If he had heard *man-gnus*, with *gn* as in Italian, he would have written *man-niws*, I believe. In Swedish, *gn* is pronounced *ng-n*, thus *Tegnér* is called *Teng-nér*. I have learned this vivâ voce, as well as from books. Rapp (Phys. der Sprache, vol. 3, p. 241) says: 'Der Scandinavier kennt kein ng-g mehr, weder in- noch auslautend . . . Folglich wird ng regelmässig durch ng, in nk durch n, *und in lateinischen Formen mit* gn *wie bei uns nach der Schul-Tradition durch* g *bezeichnet.* (Abkürzungen wie *mang* für *magnus* in der Volkssprache.) Dieses gn ist aber im Schwedischen in die wirkliche Sprache eingetreten, indem die häufige Verbindung gn durchaus in ng-n assimilirt wurde.'"

I have added sidenotes to the present Text because I found the want of them in the *Office*, to give me an Abstract of it.[1] They will at least help readers to skip those parts of the *Tractate* that look dull. One can't expect many people to read the Sermon all through. The following is a skeleton of it. The text is John xv. 6-8, from the Allegory of the Vine.

I. of those who abide not in Christ, and their burning.

II. of those who abide in Him, and their reward; and their duty to bear much fruit:—

I. 1. *α.* The non-abiders generally. *β.* specially (p. 5-6), the Romish Church, temporizers, shrinkers, flatterers, &c.

I. 2. The Torments of the Wicked (p. 6-8), and how the pains of Hell begin here by men's consciences plaguing them.

[1] This is the use of sidenotes in late Texts like the present one. The only awkwardness in reading it that I found, was, to recollect that *thir* meant 'these' and not 'their'.

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II. The Godly and their Reward. 1. The Abiders in Christ described (p. 10-11).

II. 2. A. Their first Benefit. α. Oneness with Christ; and herein of the Romish Mass, and Papist Prelates' pride (p. 12-13).

β. Christ cannot be separated from his Elect (p. 14-15).

II. 2. B. Their second Benefit: they shall bring forth much fruit. Herein, Hypocrites and Covetous Protestants, the Swine, are denounced (p. 16-23), for their cruelty to the Poor in the Dearth (p. 16-17), their Harlotry (p. 19), their Extortions (p. 19-20), their Pride and Avarice (p. 20-23).

II. 2. C. The third Benefit of the Abiders: they shall be true disciples. And herein of the Scotch Martyrs (p. 24).

The other Minor Poems are sufficiently explained by their titles. The illustrative extracts about the subjects of these Poems might have easily been carried to much greater length, and with some justification, as most of us down South are no doubt profoundly ignorant of the state of Scotland in the 16th century—I know I am;—but as Lyndesay's Works[1] and *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ab. 1548, both deal so largely with the subject, and are both soon to be completed for the Society, I have been content to let the foregoing extracts and references suffice for the present occasion. The one poet from whose works above all I should have quoted most largely, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knicht, Lauder's contemporary, and who wrote on the same themes as he, I have, after some hesitation, resolved not to quote here at all, because I should want so much of him that I prefer to edit his poems for the Society, or to get them so edited, as a little companion volume to the present one. Meantime, if any reader cares to follow up the subject, let him read in Pinkerton's "Ancient Scottish Poems[2] never before in Print," 1786, vol. ii. p. 298—345, Maitland's "Satire on the Age"; "*On the Miseries of the Tyme*, 1570"; "The World worth na Thocht"; "Public Miserie the Frute of Vice"; "Aganis Oppressioun of the Com-

[1] The *Satyre* is a wonderfully living picture of the time, 1535-9 A.D. See our *Report* for Jan. 1869, p. 12-13.

[2] Or in the Maitland Club edition of Sir R. Maitland's Poems, &c., ed Jos. Bain, 1830, from the Drummond MS., Edinburgh, with Moral and Religious Poems left out by Pinkerton.

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mouns"; "Na Kyndnes at Court without Siller"; "Satire on the Toun Ladyes"; "Complaint against the lang Law-sutes"; "*On the World's Ingratitude*"; and "To King James VI."

The Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo Manse—the writer of the able essay on the Banffshire Dialect and the Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Dictionary, in the Philological Society's *Transactions*, 1866—has been kind enough to fill-in those parts of the Biblical and other references in the *Godlie Tractate* which the binder, after the cursed custom of his craft,[1] had pared off, and to add the verses in justification of his insertions.

My thanks are due, 1. to Mr S. Christie-Miller of Britwell House, Burnham, Bucks, for letting me collate the proofs and revises of this Text with his unique originals, which he kindly brought to London for the purpose: 2. to Mr David Laing, for his Additional Note at the head of this Preface; for the loan of his woodcut of the Mirror from which the casts for our titles have been taken; also for the loan of his copy of *The Office* from which our facsimile of its title[2] has been admirably drawn and cut on wood by Mr W. H. Hooper of my corps; lastly, for his kind offices with Mr Christie-Miller; 3. to Mr James A. H. Murray for notes and hints.

3, *St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.*
18 *January*, 1870.

[1] The copy of Scott's first edition of Lyndesay's *Monarché*, that formerly belonged to Dr Leckie, has been served in the same way, seemingly by an Edinburgh binder, who, or whose men, have considered that Sir David's name was Sir *Duod*—their reading of 'Quod' Lyndesay, in the Colophon, that G is E, and therefore sheet G should go before sheet E, and that F ii comes before F i, which should follow F 4!

[2] This should be bound in the *Office*, after its modern title-page.

P.S. I see the name *Lawder* in vol. ii. of Knox's Works. In May, 1562, the Swedish Ambassador, Herr Peter Groif, 'logeit in Mr Harie LAWDER'S lodgeing' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 72-3), quoted

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in Laing's *Knox's Works*, ii. 335, note [4]; and Mr Laing thinks that in the same lodging the General Assembly met on 29 June, 1562, *ib.* p. 337, note [1]; but he holds that neither this Harie nor any other of the many Lauders known, are of the poet's family.

Mr James A. H. Murray, having only just had the Society's 1864 edition of Lauder's *Office* brought under his notice, sends me a long list of corrections for it, of which those on the next page are the most important. To such of them as have been already made in the 2nd edition, I have prefixed a †.

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CORRECTIONS FOR LAUDER'S *OFFICE*,

E. E. TEXT SOC., 1864.

p. 3, l. 14. *dede*, of course 'death,' not 'deed.'

p. 3, l. 23. *bye*, of course 'buy (off),' not 'avail, stand in stead.'

p. 5, l. 63. *Nothing at all* is the ordinary English phrase.

p. 5, l. 69, and note on it, p. 25-6. Read 'sched also—quha vnderstude—.' *Also* has its ordinary meaning here. The mistake of thinking it means *as* in Scotch, like it does in Early English, vitiates the whole of the Notes, &c. *Quha* is 'whosoever.'

† p. 5, l. 80. *to-spent*, no infinitive, but a participle, with the common intensive prefix *to*.

p. 6, l. 103. *for pure pakkis*, 'elucidated' as 'merely because of agreements.' The phrase 'puir packs' I have often heard in common talk in Scotland: it's the English 'sorry pelf.' The reference is of course, as Chalmers points out, to the *pack* of the pedlar or travelling merchant (an important personage still in rural districts, much more so in past times when intercommunication was difficult). From the *pack* containing the merchants' whole worth, wealth, or stock in trade, the word was transferred so as to mean 'estate, gear, wealth, riches, money.' A fraudulent bankrupt who "feathers his nest," is said in Scotland to "make up his *pack*;" when a spendthrift is going through the paternal estate, people shake their head and say "He 'll soon be at the boddum o' the *pack!*"

p. 6, l. 114, and note on it, p. 28. *That* is the demonstrative adjective: '*That* Kyng,' namely God. 'The is [*not*] here to be supplied.'

p. 9, l. 193. *Also* means 'also' and not 'as.' Lines 193-4 therefore read—'unless their lieges also, be godly men, perfectly knowing (doing know) God's word.'

† p. 9, l. 207. *on hycht* (Gloss. p. 35, col. 2), on high, aloud; *altè clamans*.

† p. 10, l. 224. *paird*, not 'impaired,' but 'pared, cut down.'

† p. 10, l. 226. *trewtwiche stone*, true touchstone.

† p. 10, l. 236. *syne* is the A.S. *siððan*, sithence, since; not *sæne*, slow.

p. 11, l. 260. *pose* is hoard.

† p. 11, l. 282. *gude* is 'goods,' possessions (Fr. *bien*), not 'rank.'

p. 16, l. 428. *ledgin*, 'alledging,' citing, not 'book, learning.'

p. 16, l. 442. *leid*, 'lead,' not 'let, permit'; cp. to '*lead* evidence,' '*ducere carmen*,' &c.

p. 17, l. 466. *buddis*, offers (a *bid* at an auction).

p. 23. The theory expressed in the notes, p. 23, as to a dissyllabic pronunciation of *pe-ace*, *bo-ith*, *gud-e*, *tham-e*, *Godds*, seems very funny to a Scotchman; the lines in question merely want the first short syllable, a liberty taken by all poets from Chaucer to Burns.

— Wo / be to / thame that / dois knaw
Godds wourd / syne dois / the con / trar schaw.

p. 35, col. 1. *Governall* is not 'governance,' but the Fr. *gouernail*, helm, rudder; steering.

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Ane Godlie Tractate

Or Mirrour. Quhairintill may be easilie perceauit quho Thay be that ar Ingraftit in to Christ, and quho ar nocht. Declaring also the rewaird of the Godlie and Punyschement of the Wekit. Maid bpone this pairt of Text. Writtin in the Fyftene Chaptour of the Euangell of Jhone. As followis. [*]

[*] GIue ane man bydē nocht in me, he is cassin furth, as ane Branche that widderis. And men gadderis thame, and castis thame in the fyre, and thay burne. Geue ze abyde in me & my wourds also in to zow. Ask quhat ze wil, it salbe done vnto zow. Meirin is my Father Glorefyit, that ze bryng furth mekle Frute, and be maid my [†] Disceplis. ¶ Compyld In Meter, be William Lauder, Minister of the Wourd of God. For yᵉ Instructioun comfort and consolatioun of all Faithfull Christianes. To quhome he wissith, Grace, Mercie, and Peace, in Jesus Christ our Lord and onlie Sauiour. So be it.



LAke in this Mirrour, and thow sall cleirlie se,
Gyf yⁿ be Reprobat, or chosin, it sal declair to the.

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¶ The Contentis of this Buke. [A 1. back]

☞ TO THE REDAR.

All faithfull, herkin, & to my wordis attend, Faithful folk,
And ernistlie do merk thame til ane end;
Ponder thame weill, and wey thaim in 3our hart; weigh well my words!
Ilk stait of man, consider 3our awin part,
And Iudge me nocht, that I haue done indyte I have written this Tractate
This lytle Tractate of malice or dispyte,
Bot for ane warnyng to the impenitent, to warn the impenitent, and
And for the confort of thame that doth repent, comfort the penitent.
As may all faithfull graip, and als considder,
Layand the Text and this my werk togidder,
¶ Humblie exhorting euerie Creature,
Learnd, vnlearnd, auld, 3ung, ryche and pure,
To take heirfor my sayings in gude part, Take my sayings, therefore, in good part!
Sen I do write thame of ane zealus hart,
As God me Iudge, quho knawis the mynd & thocht
Of euerye wicht that in this warld is wrocht.
So to my Text now breuelie to proceid,
Grit God me help, and with his spreit me speid!

¶ THE DIUISIOUN OF THE TEXT.

My text is John xv. 6—8.

THis part of Text[1] quhilk I am to discyde,
In to two heads—will God—I sall deuyde: I divide it into 2 heads:
¶ The first head, the punyschement sall be I. 1. the punishment of sinners,
Of wekit Synnairis for thair Iniquytie;

[1] As the Text (from the allegory of the Vine) is standing on its head at the left of the Mirror in the Title page, it is re-

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2. the torments of the despisers of God's word.

And speciallie, the torment*is* heir I schaw
Of thame that dois contem God*is* wourd & Law,
And how the wekit ar nocht ingraft in Christ,
Bot ar the Children of the Antechrist.

II. the rich reward of the Godly. [sign. A ii.]

¶ The secund head sall be the riche rewaird
The Godlie gett*is*, quhilk dois thair God regaird,
And how tha ar ingraft in Christ Iesu,
Iho. x[v.] Be the imbracing of his wourd most trew.

¶ THE DISCRIPTIOUN OF THE FIRST HEAD.

I. 1. then, of the terrible decree against the wicked and vicious.

SO now returnand till our first head agane,
Aduert, and ȝe sall heir the crewell pane,
The sorrowfull Sentence and terribill decreit,
In to few wourd*is* ar heir contenit compleit,
That is prepaird for wekit Creaturs,
And vicius men that in to Uice indurs.

¶ For thame that drownd ar in Idolatrie,
For poysond pepill with Infidelytie,
For stif contemnars of gods lyuelie wourd,
This suthfast Sentence; allace, it is no bourd!

Math. [v.] It is no Sentence be Man retreattabill,
i. Peter [iv.] It is no Sentence be man debaittabill,
Esa. lvi[ii.] It nowthair sparis King nor Empriour,

It is a judgment that no man can revoke, that spares neither king nor poor.

Duke, Erll, Lord, nor pussant Conquyrour;
It nowthair sparis mychtie men nor pure,
Iere. i. That of the wourd of God doith tak no cure;
Bot is ane Sentence quhilk none can do eschew
That dois contem the wourd of Christ Iesu.

I. 1. I take the folk who abide not in Christ.

This Sentence merkit, the pepill we discus
That doith nocht abyde in Christ Iesus.

printed here from the ordinary modernization of the Authorized Version:

6 "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch,
and is withered; and men gather them, and cast *them* into
7 the fire, and they are burned. If ye abide in me, and my
words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall
8 be done unto you. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye
bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples."

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¶ ANE GENERALL DISCRIPTIOUN OF THAME THAT BYDIS NOCHT IN CHRIST.

A. *generally.*

IN Christ tha byde nocht, we do vnderstand,
The quhilk, aggreing vnto his command,
Dois nocht imbrace his wourd most louynglie,
With feruent mynd and hart most constantlie,
And in that wourd hes nocht ane solyde faith:
Thir bydis nocht in Christ, the Scripture saith,
Bot ar Inuoluit in-to dung-hill*is* of Sin,
And euerye daye frome Sin to Sin tha rin.

Those who obey not His command, embrace not His word, and have not firm faith in it.

[A. ii. back]

¶ It sufficis nocht that we Baptizit be,
Bot it requyris als, of necessitie,
That we contynew in Christs Euangell trew,
Or ell*is* we can nocht byde in Christ Iesu.

Baptism alone is no good. [I]hon. xv. Math. x. [ii.] Tim. ii. We must continue in Christ's Gospel.

¶ ANE DISCRIPTIOUN OF THAME IN SPECIALL THAT BYDIS NOCHT IN TO CHRIST.

I. 1. *B. specially.*

THe Romane Kirk, and all of that degre,
Quhilk dois menteane peruerst Idolatrie,
Sic as the Messe, (quhilk is plane derogatioun
To Christ[i]s glore and his most blissed Passioun,)
With all the rabill of tha Sophist*is* and Clerks
That doith ascryue Saluatioun to thair werks,
Or attribut*is* Remissioun of thair Sin
To ony wicht that is the warld within,
Tha pepill, I say, doith nocht abyde in Christ,
Bot ar the Children of the Antechrist.

These abide not in Christ:

α. the Roman Church, those who [G]al. ii. and [iii.] uphold Idolatry like the Mass.

β. those who ascribe salvation to works, or remission of sins to any mortal.

¶ Thir Temporesars doith nocht in Christ abyde,
Neathir thir schrinkars that from *the* treuth dois slyde,
Neathir thir flattrers, that for feir of thair bags
Dois wag about aye as the busse it wags,
Neathir tha pepill that for feir of thair lyues,
And tinsall of thair houshald*is*, bairnis, and wyues,
And lose of guds, [&] gear, or wardlie rent,
Frome God[i]s wourd thame selues doith absent;

γ. temporisers, *δ.* shrinkers, [I]say. iii. [I]aco. i. *ε.* flatterers, [L]uc. ix. [a]nd xiiii. Math. x. *ζ.* stayers-away from God's word for fear of losing life or goods.

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ϗ. or for their Prince's pleasure; [A]ct. iiii.
Nor tha that dois, for pleasure of thair Prence,
Refuse Gods wourd, of maist magnificence.

θ. folk divided, not giving both soul and body to God;
¶ And sure it is, quho treulie list discydit,[1]
God will nocht haue that man that is deuydit;
Bot he will haue him, Saule and bodye haill;

[ii.] Cor. vi.
Quho is deuydit, his faith doith nocht auaill.

ɾ. dissemblers.
Dissemblit pepill doith nocht abyde in Christ,
Bot ar the children of the Antechrist.

[A 2; no sig.]
¶ And as the faithfull in Christ ingraftit be,
Be his Euangell and wourd of Ueritie,

Iho. viii. and xv. These are the Church Malignant, grafted into Satan.
So is the Kirk malignant, but more plead,
Ingraft in Sathan,—of that ilk kirk thair head,—
With dewillysche doctrine, and Idolatrie
Of thame that speyk*is* leis throw Ypocresie.

I. 2. *The torments of the Wicked.*

¶ OF THE GREUOUS TORMENTIS PREORDINAT FOR THE WEKIT.

QUhat end mak*is* thir to proceid furthirmair?
Tha ar cast furth, *th*e Text this doith declair,

Ioan. xv. They are cast out like a dry, lopt branch,
Maist lyke ane branche doun cuttit of ane stok,
That is becum ane drye and widderit blok.
Meit for no werk that man wald do desyre,

to be thrown in the fire.
Bot to be brint, and cassin in ane fyre.
Euin so the curst Contemnar*is* of the treuth,

Wicked doers
And wekit wirkars, for thair Sin and sleuth,

Gal. v.
That will nocht do the wourd of Christ imbrace,

are dry of grace;
Ar clene dryit vp frome euerye kynd of grace,
And hes no pairt with Christ, nor with his glore,
Moir nor the widderit branche, the quhilk before
I said had Iusse or Sapour of the tre,
Quhen it is cuttit, and dois frome growing de.

dry with the heat of lust, having no juice of the Spirit,
¶ Tha ar cum drye with Lust and carnall heit,
Because tha want the Sapour of the spreit
Of Christ Iesus, the Sauiour of man.
Wanting this Iusse, quhairfor ar tha meit than?

[1] discyde it.

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For nothing ellis,—the text it schewis plane,— Ioan. xv.
Bot to sustene of Hellis fyre the pane, Exo. iiii. [v.] vi. vii. vi[ii.]
As Nero sufferit for his tirrannye, fit only
And Pharao for his grit Ydolatrie, for Hell-fire,
And as the gluttoun quho refusit Lazarus, like Nero, Pharaoh, and Luc. ix.
With mony mo nor heir I may discus. Dives.

¶ So thus the wekit; tha get no vther hyre, [A 2, back] Ihon. xv.
Bot for thair Sin ar brint in flam of fyre, So end the wicked;
Aye daylie deand, and neuer ȝit can de; daily dying, never dead!
Thus end*is* the wekit, for thair Iniquytie. Math. iii. Esa. lxvi.

¶ Bot lat ws heir the text perfytlie feill,
And lat ws merk the wourd*is* thairof richt weill, But mark, the text says not *shall be* cast forth,
As quhair it sayis nocht that, 'that man sall be
'Cast furth that bydis nocht in Christ constantlie,'
Bot speykand in the present tyme it sayis, Ihon. iii.
"He is reieckit now instantlie alwayis." and xv.
Albeit on lyfe that ȝit he leuand be, but *is* cast forth, though alive,
He is cast furth: the text this latts ws se.
So heir the text pronuncis till ws plat,
That Christ, he speykis heir of the reprobat;—[1] if he be reprobate.
For as the faithfull, now leuyng heir but more, For, as the Faithful
Ar partakers with Christ in heauinnis glore, [I]hon. v.
And dois begin thair heauin in earth heir doun, begin their heaven on earth,
Quhen as tha thole soir persecutioun
For richtyusnes, takand in pacience [i] Pet. iiii.
All earthlie trubill, knawand thair Innocence, taking patiently all earthly trouble,
Hayfand respect, and still in memore,
The heauinnis Ioye and grit felicite
That thay at last be Christ ar till obtene,
Quhen as tha knaw thair conscience is clene
Of sik Iniury as wes thair accusatioun,
This earthlie trubill is thair grit consolatioun,
Quhilk consolatioun, it is the waye full euin, as their road to the gate of Heaven,
And pleasand passage, vnto the port of heauin.

[1] The following parenthesis comprises 28 lines, lasting to l. 160.

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The quhilk begynnis in to this wrachit ground,
according to what the Scripture says, As in the Scripture cleirlie may be found,
Quhair as it sayis, and writtin is expres,
"Be mony trublis, sorrowis, and distres,
Act. iiii. "[1]The godlie sall in heauin haue thair Intrance,
[1 A 1; no sig.] Thair to posses thair Iust inheritance."
¶ Euin so all thay, to speyk in wourd*is* breue,
That godlie will in to Christ Iesus leue,
ii Tim. iii. Man thame addres, his Croce for to vptake,
And suffer persecutioun for his saike,
and what the example of Heb. ii. ¶ As the Appostil*is* and Propheits nocht possest
The heauinnis glore in earth with wardlie rest,
Apostles and Prophets teaches, Bot sum tholit death, and sum richt sore torment,
Heir vpon earth, or tha till heauin vp went;—
¶ Directlie speakand in the contrarie,
even so the wicked, who know the word of God and work against it, Of wekit pepill that leuis sinfullie,
To quhome also is knawin the wourd of God,
And wilfullie dois rin the contrair rod
In werk and wourd, in thocht and in Intent
Expresse aganis the Lordis commandiment,
Heb. vi. and x. Contynewand thus in thair Sin and offence,
have no peace in their conscience; and so begin here the pains of Hell. This man can neuer haue peace in conscience;
Quhilk peace quho want*is*, *the* treuth most trew to tel,
Is the begynning of the paynis of Hell.
Quhilk paynis infernal begynnis lykewyse, we se,
In this vale of misery, In to this earth, and Uaill of miserie.
Quho wants this rest and peace of conscience,
Of this may haue ane sure experience.
their conscience barks at them; [2 ? *for* cryis.] For quhill he leuis, his conscience tryis[2] and berks
Gods wraith to wrak him for his wekit werks;
and after death accuses them. Quhen he is dead, his conscience sall accuse him,
And him condamp, quhair he hes done abuse him.
And as the living Faithfull have each his appointed place in Heaven, ¶ And as the faithfull, now leuand heir on lyfe,
Of all degre, baith Infant, man, and wyfe,
Hes now in Heauin, of Gods especiall grace,
Ilk ane thair awin preparit roum and place,

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¶ So hes the wekit leuand, I ȝow tell, [A 1, back] so have the living wicked, in
Ilk ane thair awin appoyntit rowmes in Hell. 184 Hell.
¶ To tell quho ar Eleckit or refusit, Who are elect, who rejected,
I can nocht saye; thairin hald me excusit;
Can nane thair-of haue sik experience each must ask himself.
As man him self, grapand his awin conscience. 188
¶ Lyke as the man that finds his lyfe aggre He is elect who lives by God's word,
To Gods command and wourd of verite,
And hes ane feruent mynd to perseueir
Under the reull of God[i]s wourd sinceir, 192
Syne dois *con*tinew as Gods word dois direc him, and continues in it.
That man may knaw that God hes done elec him;
And with the wekit, thocht still he be suspeckit,
ȝit still the faithfull may compt him as eleckit. 196
¶ And in the contrair, accompt this for no bourd, He is rejected who contemns God's word,
Quho dois contempne of God the lyuelie wourd,
And dois menteine peruerst Idolatrie, upholds idolatry,
And will nocht cum to heir the veritie, 200
And quha that cu*m*mis to heir, and dois abuse it,
And quha hes hard, syne efter dois refuse it, or refuses the Truth,
Turnand as Tyk*is* vnto thair vomatyue,— turning, like a dog, to his vomit.
As sum hes done, that leuand ar on lyue,— 204
¶ Contynewand this[1] in to thair odius Sin,
Ending thair lyuis as than tha do begin;
I can nocht say, nor on na wayis excuse thame, Luc. xii.
Bot force man grant *that* God hes done refuse thame. 208

¶ THE EXHORTATIOUN VPON THE FIRST HEAD. I. concluded.

QUhairfor I do Imploir with humbill hart I pray you, then, consider,
Ilk m*a*n in earth, to ponder thair awin part,
And to considder in to quhat stait tha stand, Are you with God, or against Him?
Quhidder with God, or contrair his command, 212
[2] That he that stands may stand, and nocht do fall, i. Cor. x.
And quho hes fallin, may knaw the sam at all[3]; Have you fallen?

[1] *this* = thus: see p. 29, l. 85.
[2] sign. B. [3] ? thoroughly, or at all events.

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Then pray to God for grace to rise again,

Syne praye to God in to most hartlie wyse,
To grant thame grace vp frome thair fall to ryse,
And to contynew in Christ*is* Euangell trew,

and be grafted into Christ.

And so Ingraftit in to Christ Iesu.
This fer, deir brether, sall stand for the first heid;
Nixt to the Secund, schortlie I proceid.

II. *The Reward of the Godly.* (*With the Devilish Doctrine of the Papists*, p. 12—15; *and the Hellish Selfishness and Covetousness of the so-called Protestants*, p. 16—23.)

¶ HEIR ENDIS THE FIRST HEAD. AND FOLLOWIS THE SECUND HEAD. WITH THE TEXT THAIROF.

GEue 3e abyde in me, and my wourdis also In to 3ow, Ask quhat 3e will, It sal be done vnto 3ow. Heirin is my Father Glorefyit, That 3e bring furth mekill Fructe, and be maid my Disciplis. Iohan. xv.

&c.

Of the profit of the unity between Christ and his Church

THe Fructe, the proffeit, and the commodytie
In to this gratius and Godlie Unitie
Betuix Christ Iesus and his Kirk most trew,

He speaks here, to comfort His disciples,

Lo, Christ he dois heir furthirmore ensew.
To mak the consolatioun the moir
Of his Discyplis, he speak*is* the sam heirfoir;
And for to draw thame till ane constancie,

and show them that if they abide in Him,

He schewis thame the grit Utilitie
That followis thame that in him dois abyde,
In to few wourds he dois the sam discyde:
Christ sayis thir wourds, "gyf 3e will byde in me,

they get 3 great benefits.

"Thairthrow 3e sall obtene grit proffitt*is* thre."

Ioan. xv.

¶ Bot quhat ar tha that dois in Christ remane?
Tha kynd of pepill the Text declaris plane:

II. 1. Those that abide in Christ

"Euin tha," it sayis, "that dois my wourd*is* imbrace,
"Tha same in me, tha haue ane dwelling place,

i Ioan. i[i] are those who embrace His [sign. B back] [I]oan. viii. word and are engrafted into Him by faith.

"And tha be faith in me ar still Ingrauit,
"And I in thame thairthrow rychtso consauit."
So this Coniunctioun and this Unitie
Betuix Christ Iesus and his Kirk trewlie,

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Is be no meanis bot be his wourd imbrasing, [i] Ioan. ii. That is the only means.
And it in to thair Inwert Bowell*is* placing,
As wes of Abraham, and mony faithfull mo: [R]om. iii.
Go cearche the Scripture, and thow sall find it so. [I]bid.
¶ We find nocht heir the Paip, that Antechrist, No Pope, [i] Ioan. ii.
Doith ws Conione vnto our Maister Christ;
Nor we perceaue nocht heir that our ingrauyng
Is in to Christ be our Byschopis receauyng, no Bishop's receiving, no anointing or crown-shaving!
As be Annoynting, and schauing of our Croun;
We find nocht heir sic vaine Coniunctioun;
Bot onlie find*is* ws Ingraft in Christ Iesu [i] Ioan. ii.
Be the imbrasing of his wourd most trew. [i] Iho. ii.
¶ And quho so thus with Christ Conioynit be, Only, the embracing His word.
May be assurit to get thir proffitt*is* thre, Those thus joined to Christ get the 3 benefits in the Text.
The quhilk in ordour, as tha stand in the Text,
I sall declair, Ilkane till vthir Annext.

¶ THE FIRST COMMODITE OF THAME THAT ABYDIS IN TO CHRIST. II. 2. *a. the first Benefit:*

¶ THE TEXT.

☞ ASK QUHAT ȝE WILL. IT SALL BE GEUIN VNTO ȝOW.

☞ (✠) ☜

* * *

FIrst, in this Spirituall Unioun we haue [I]oan. xv.
Quhat richtius thi*n*g of Christ *that* we sal craue. What right thing we ask, we have.
¶ Quhat better thing can man seik for his hyre,
Nor get all thing he Iustlie will desyre?
No better thi*n*g can onye crayf or wys,
In to this earth on lyfe that leuing is, No better reward can any one conceive on earth; [B ii: no sig.]
Nor haue all thingis to thame performit and done
That Godlie is, be the grit God abone, Ioan. xv.
For the imbrasing of his wourd most trew, i Ioan. [ii.]
And so to be Ingraft in Christ Iesu.

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and he is daft who lacks it, since he can get it so easily.

I compt thame daft, and mekill wors nor mad,
That layk*is* this gift, so lichtlie may be had,
Sekand the sam vpon ane vther ground,
Quhilk[1] be no vther maner can be found.

II. 2. A. a. Since, then, we are one with Christ in spirit, Ioan. vi[i.] et. xvi. it is but vanity to desire his body here.

¶ Sen Christ hes promist this to his faithful all,
Be this Coniunctioun and Unioun Spirituall,
I saye it is bot verraye Uanytie
For to desyre Christ with ws corporallie.

The Spirit quickens; the flesh profits nothing.

¶ It is the Spreit that quyknis auld and ȝing;
The corporall flesche, it proffittis no thing:
"Without," sayis Christ, "my body do ascend,
The Confortour to ȝow I can nocht send."

Christ must needs go up to His Father Mar. vi[ii.] Luc. iiii. Ioan. xv[i.] Heb. x. Act. vii. Ioan. xv[i.] till he comes down to judge the world.

¶ Thus it behouit Christ of necessitie
Unto the Father to passe vp reallie,
Quhair he abydis, and euer sall remane
Quhill he discend to Iudge the warld agane.
For vthirwyse, gyf Christ had nocht ascendit,
The holy Gost till ws had nocht discendit.

Papists can't show He's descended yet. How then can they make and eat him bodily?

¶ Thow can not, Papist, be Scripture mak it kend
That Christ sensyne did corporallie discend.
How is it than thow think*is* no schame to le,
To say thow mak*is* him, and eyt*is* him carnallie?

¶ Now may it heir be sperit and demandit,
And gude it wer that we suld vnderstandit,[2]

Why can't the Popish Church have spiritual union with Christ?

Quhat is the cause the Kirk Papisticall
Can neuer haue this Unioun Spirituall
Of Christ Iesus trewlie in thame ingrauit?

Because they seek him in the flesh. Ioan. vi[i.] [Ma]th. xvi.

The cause is this, sa fer as I perceauit,[3]
That so lang as tha seyk him carnallie,
Tha can no wayis posses him Spirituallie. [B ii, back]

As, while the Apostles [M]ath. xvi. [x]xv. thought Christ'd [I]oan. viii. be a temporal King,

As the Appostill*is*, beleuing Christ to ring
In earth amangs thame as ane temporall King,
So lang as tha of this had Esperance,
Tha euer leuit still in Ignorance,

[1] Quhllk *in orig.* [2] understand it. [3] perceive it.

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And neuer knew quhat Christ ment in his teaching, [Lu]c. ix.
For all his daylie and contynewall preaching ; they never knew what His
No moir sall neuer no carnall Creature— teaching meant,
So lang as tha sall fleschelie Folk*is* Indure,— so no carnal creature can know God's word
Cum to the knowledge and intelligence [i C]or. ii.
Of God[i]s wourd, and Spirituall pure sentence,
Thocht Angell*is* wer to preache it to thame plane ; though angels preach it to him.
Preue quho so please, thair laubour sall be vane.

¶ Now falls it weill to vs to wey but moir, Why too did [Hug]o Be-
Quhat wes the cause, the reasoun, and quhairfoir [ren]g. de
The Papistis said 'tha maid Christ Reallie [Tour]se.
'In to thair Messe, and Eate him carnallie.' [Colo]s. ii.
¶ As I perceaue, it wes, that tha and thairs the Papists say they make and eat Christ bodily?
Mycht stylit be "most holy God-makairs," Because they wanted to be styled God-
And thairthrow cum to warldlie Pomp and gloir, makers, and get
Richt as tha did ;—for nane micht clim to moir ; worldly glory.
For Papis precellit the Kings in Dignytie, And so they did get it:
And Cardinals wes Compan3eonis to our Kings ; Popes were over Kings, and
For with my Eis my self did se thir things ;— Cardinals companions to
This mouit thame that werk till Interpryse, them.
Quhilk montit thame on sic ane prydfull wyse. I saw this with my own eyes.

¶ And thocht su*m* schaifling wald haue ilk nycht in cure And tho' a schaveling lay all night with a whore,
Ane Co*n*cubyne, ane Harlote, or ane Hure, yet in the
With gaping, Iowking, with mony bek and nod, morning he'd make God!
Upon the morne he wald haue maid 3ow God !

¶ Sa lyke, sa lyke, as it wes trew to be, Likely, indeed!
Quhen nane of thame could mak ane lytill fle ! [B 2] When he couldn't even make a flea!
And 3it no schame, to tak in hand, tha thocht, And yet he'd take in hand to make the great God!
To mak grit God, quhilk maid all thing of nocht !
Grit God we pray, sen Prencis wald perceaue, Would to God that Princes would see how they've been
And it in to thair hart[i]s deiplie graue, fed with devils'
How be tha Iuglours tha haue bene blindlynes led, doctrine by these jugglers!
With deuillysche Doctrine fosterit and fed !
Na dout, gude Lord, bot than tha wald refuse it,
Quhen as tha knew how tha haue bene abuse-it !

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¶ ANE QUESTIOUN DIRECT TO ALL PAPISTIS, DEMANDING GYF CHRIST CAN BE SEPARET FROME THE FAITHFULL.

II. 2. A. β. *Can Christ be separated from the faithful?*

CAn Christ be frome thame, *tha*t he do[is] stil support,
And grants to thame thair will in lauchfull sort?
No! thair is none of Iudgement discreit,
Can saye bot he is present in the Spreit
Still in to thame that ar his trew Eleckit,
Least tha alwayis with Sin suld be subieckit,
¶ I mene, with grit and odious transgressioun,
Siclyke as thift, reif, murthour, and oppressioun;
¶ For thocht *th*e richtyus doith seuin tymes daylie Sin,
3it dois he nocht contynew still thairin;
For, be his Spreit Christ geuis thame Iudgement
To knaw thair Sin; syne maks thame to repent,
So that tha do nocht in thair Sin delyte,
Bot murnis thairfor with conscience contryte,
As Dauid, Peter, and the Magdalene,
With mony mo nor heir I may contene.
¶ Christ als is with thame, as Uicar generall,
Rewlar and gydar of the faithfull all,
Without quhais spreit no gude thing ca*n* be wrocht;
Without his help our strenth aualis nocht;
In him we leue and mouis quhill we indure,
It is he onlie, that taks on ws cure; [B 2, back]
Thus none can saye, but Christ most certanlie
Is be his Spreit with ws contynewallie.
So till his Kirk, Christ heir before his Passioun
Repeat*is* thir wourdis, to gyf thame consolatioun,
That tha in that suld nocht discuragit be
For his deperting frome thame corporallie,
Bot be his Spreit he promist stil support thame;
So on this wayis Christ Iesus did confort thame,

Mathew. xxviii. No! he is ever with his Elect,

Esay. xlv.

Psal. c.xx. ix. to keep them from great sins,

like theft and murder.

Tho' they sin 7 times a day,

they repent,

and mourn for their sins, like David and the Magdalene.

Heb. i. Christ is with them too, as Ruler of all the *Faithfu!*.

Act. xvii. In Him we live and move;

He is ever with us.

Therefore He told his Church here before He suffered,

Ioan. xiiii.

Mathew. xxviii.

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"Howbeit," sayis he, "I am to passe abone;
"Ask quhat ȝe will, it sall to ȝow be done;
"Prouyding alwayis that ȝe constant be
"Abyding at my wourd of Uerite."

'tho' I must go above, yet what ye ask shall be done,
if ye abide in Me.'

¶ This consolatioun dois serue for ws also,
Assuring ws, quhair euer we ryde or go,
ȝe, euin amyd our Inymeis most grit,
He euer is with ws present in the spreit,
Preseruing ws, and doing ws defend,
As he hes promist, vnto the war[l]dlis end.

This comfort is for us now too.
[R]om. xv.
Even amid our foes, He is with us,
[L]uc. xxi.
Mathew. [xx]viii.
to the world's end.

¶ Now haue ȝe herd the first commoditie,
The riche rewaird, and grit vtilitie,
Breiflie discussit, of thame that ar ingrauit
In to Christ Iesus, and how it is conceauit.
Now herkin fordwart; and ȝe sall schortlie heir
The Secund proffeit, discussit in ordour cleir

¶ THE DISCRIPTIOUN OF THE SECUND COMMODITIE OF THAME THAT ABYDIS IN CHRIST.

II. 2. B. *The Second Benefit.*

¶ THE TEXT.

Heirin is my Father Glorifyit, that
ȝe bring furth mekill fruct. &c.

THe Secund proffeit, we sal bring furth gude frute,
And of gude werk*is* sal not be destitute,
That dois Gods wourd into thair harts imbrace,
Making it thair to haue ane dwelling place.
For as the day can nocht be without lycht,
Nor the cleir Sone withouttin beames bricht,
The flammyng fyre without Calyditie,
Or without water can be the raging Se,
No more the godlie (as writt*is* cunnyng Clerk*is*,)
Can gudlie[1] be withouttin godlie werk*is*,
With quhilks tha do the Father glorefie,
That ringand is in to the Heauin most hie.

We shall bring forth good fruit, Ioan. xv.
[B 1]
Math. v. that is, do good works.
As fire *must* give out heat,
so the godly *must* do good works.

[1] ? *for* godlie.

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Iaco. ii. The good fruit is godly deeds,

¶ This frute, but dout, tha ar the godlie deids
Quhilk from Christ Iesus, the faithfull wine, proceids,

Math. iii. as pure doctrine sincerely preacht,

As is the Doctrine of his wourd most pure
Sinceirlie Preacheit to euerie Creature,

which converts men from vice

Be quhilk men ar conuertit speciallie
Frome Sin and Uice, and frome Ydolatrie,

to godliness. Ephe. v. Col. iii.

To godlynes, quhairin the Lord delyts,
As Paule in his Epistills plainlie dyts.

If we bear this fruit, it shows we are branches of the true vine, Christ. Ioan. xv.

¶ Thir Godlie fruts dois also notefie,
Gyf we the faithfull and Germane branchis be
Of Christ Iesus, quha is the onlie wyne,
That did Redeme our Saul[i]s all frome pyne.

They who do not bear this fruit are grafts of Satan. Math. v.

¶ Quho wants thir fruts, lat thame all talking stanche,
And never compt *th*aim of Christ to be a branche,
Bot lat thaim grant *th*aim branchis, Imps, & sperks
To be of Sathan, seing thair sinfull werks

II. 2. B. a. *A Denunciation of Hypocrites and* (β.) *covetous Protestants.*

¶ ANE EXCLAMATIOUN AGANIS ALL FENȝEIT YPOCREITIS, AND SPECIALLIE AGANIS ALL GREDIE DISSEMBLIT FALS PROTESTANTES.

Fie on you professors who Mathew. xxiii. sin openly!

O Fie on ȝow that callis ȝour selffs professours,
Syne notit ar for manifest transgressours!
Gods wourd is heauylie sclanderit for ȝour caus, [B 1, back]
Seing ȝe do nothing obserue his Lawis!

Ye scare the weakling from the Word.

ȝe skar the wayklings from the wourd receauyng,
Throw ȝour vngodlie and vicius behauyng!

Ye make the poor say, 'God keep us from this profession!

¶ Quhat sayis the pure, behalding ȝour transgression?
"Grit God preserue ws from this lewd professiōn!

This word must come from the Devil; it can't be from God!

"Is this Gods wourd that learnis thame this euyll?
"It semis rather this wourd cummis of the Deuyll!
"Wer it Gods wourd, we mycht rycht weill be sure,
"Tha wald nocht in sic deuylrie indure,

Ye are puft up with pride!

"¶ Puft vp in pryde, sik as wes neuer sene
"Before with ony mortall mannis Eine."
Moir grit expens is maid, as I suppose,

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Upon ane pair of prophane Monstruus hose,
Nor wald do cleith ane hundreth of the pure
That gois nakit, begging frome dure to dure.
Salyke sic Pryde pertenis to trew teaching,
Or ony poynt of the Appostill*is* preaching!

¶ The Godlie aucht nocht to hald vile pryde in pryce,
Seing it is the Mother of all vyce,
Quhairof proceidis all distructioun,
And bring[i]s Kingdomes to confusioun.

¶ For Pryde, Lucypheir fro*m* Heauinnis glore he fell,
And daylie is tormentit in the Hell
With mony thousand*is* of his oppynnioun,
Throw verray pryde from Heauin w*ith* him fell doun.

¶ Pharao, for pryde, wes drownit in the Seye,
With all his Horsis and crewell Companye.

¶ Sennacherib, for all his bost and schore,
Wes put to flycht; syne, be his Sone forlore.

¶ And Nabuchodonezer, for his Pryde—
As Daniell dois distinclie weill discyde—
Wes, for his hicht, transformit in ane beist, [sign. C]
Quhill he agane of lawlynes did taist,
Granting him self to be ane mortall wicht,
And God allone to be the Lord of micht.

¶ In to the buke of Hester is declaird,
How on that gallous, proude Aman had prepaird
To put gude Merdocheus to the dead,
Him self wes hangit, withouttin moir remead.
This to be schort: quho list to pryde pretend,
May be assurde of ane mischeuous end;
And in the contrair, quha wald exaltit be,
Go learne at Christ, to lead Humelytie.

¶ Ȝe clois Ȝour ears, and turn*is* away Ȝour eyis,
Quhair Ȝe Ȝour pure and nedye brethren seyis!
Ȝour Cheritie, it is be-cum sa cauld,
Ȝe thole thame de but reuth, I der be bauld;
And euerie fatt Souch fed*is* and flammis ane vther!

Ye spend more on a pair of monstrous breeches than'd clothe 100 naked poor! i Cor. xvi.

The Godly should not esteem Pride. Eccl. x. Tob. iiii. Eccl. x.

Through pride, Lucifer fell to Esa. xiiii. hell,

Exo. xiiii.

Pharaoh was drowned,

[i]i. Reg. xix Sennacherib was put to flight,

Nebuchadnezzar was turned into Dani. iiii. a beast,—

till he lowlied himself, and confessed that God alone was Lord;—

Haman was hanged on the Hester [vii.] gallows he'd prepared for Mordecai.

The proud must come to a bad end. Pro. xv[i.] Math. [xi. 29] Ioan. [xiii.]

Learn from Christ humility! II. 2. B. β. Ye covetous! ye turn your eyes from your needy brethren! Ye let them die, while ye fat swine feed one another' (p. 26)

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Grit God thairfor will plaig that faithles futher! 461
¶ And 3it 3e ar nothing of this eschamit;
Ye are not Protestants! i. Ioa. [iii] et .iiii.
Bot 3e will all, Protestant*is* still be nemmit!
So ar 3e nocht! for Ihone sayis 3e do lie. 464
Ye know not God, ye who leave the needy pitiless!
3e knaw nocht God, nor 3it his wourd trewlie,
That seis 3our nedie Brother in distres,
Syne helps him nocht, bot layf*is* him mercyles.
Your greediness stinks the air!
¶ 3our gredynes! it stink*is* and fylis the air! 468
I vg 3our Murthour and Hirschip to declair!
Ye slay the poor: tho' not with knives,
For thocht 3e sla nocht pure men with 3our knyues,
3it with 3our dearth 3e tak from thame the lyues!
¶ Quhat differs dearth frome creuell briganrye, 472
yet with hunger.
Quhen that 3e mak the Pure for hunger dye?
It's murder without drawing blood!
No thing at all! most trewlie to conclude,
Except of thame 3e do nocht draw the blude;
[C [i] back]
For 3e contryne thame,—as wyse me*n* merk*is* and seis,—
Till one of thir two grit Extremiteis: 477
You buy up their food, and let the moneyless starve.
Till vtter hirschip, with bying of thair fude;
And want tha money? than, schortlie to conclude,
Thair is no credeit, bot of Necessitie, 480
The Pure Broder, for Hunger he man die.
God sent you victuals, not to famish the poor, [M]athew. [xx]v. but to help them in their need.
¶ God send 3ow nocht *the* Uictall of the ground
That 3e the pepill suld Fameis and confound;
Bot that 3e sould thairof gude Stewarts be, 484
Helpand the Pure in thair necessite.
Woe be to the hoarder-up of [P]ro. xi. corn!
¶ Wo be till him that hurdis vp his Corne,
Syne kepis it vp to dearth, fra morne to morne!
God bless him that lets it out to the poor!
Bot Gods blissing sall lycht vpon his head, 488
That lat*is* it furth, that pure men may get bread.
Ye closers of your garners,
¶ Bot as 3e cloise 3our Girnall*is* frome *the* puris,
Quhilk*is* now thairby grit miserie induris,
God shall close the Gate of Heaven against you! [E]xod. xxii. [A]bac. ii.
So God sall cloise on 3ow, for 3our grit Sin, 492
His Heauinlie Porte, quhe*n* 3e wald faine cum in.
God shall plague you again for it!
¶ So on this wyse quhe*n* *that* 3e scurge the pure,
God sall 3ow Plaig agane for that, be sure!
Experience daylie teachis ws of this: 496

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Merk quhen ȝe please, ȝe sall nocht find it mis.
¶ I neid nocht rekkin ȝour filthye Harlotrie : — Your filthy harlotry is so public,
It is so knawin our alquhair, oppinlie ;
Quhilk to rehearse, It mak[i]s me abhor ! — I loathe to speak of it.
Bot as the Townis of Sodome and Gomor, — But, like Sodom and Gomorrah,
The Creaturis and all that in thame was,
With fyre frome Heauin consumit was with as — Gene. xix.
For that foule stinkand Sin of Lychorie,
Richt so, ȝe Harlotis, but dout sall Plagit be — ye shall be burnt-up with fire
Be the grit Michtie God Omnipotent,
Except that ȝe moir spedylie repent ! — unless ye repent.
¶ For mony ane tyme, and daylie it is sene, [C ii] — Harlots are often punished with poverty, shame, and sudden death. (p. 39)
How sic vile harlotis for Hurdome Plagit bene
With most extreme and vrgent pouertie, — Luc. xv
Quhilk sumtyme had of ryches grit plentie ;
Sumtyme with maist detestebill odious schame, — Pro. ix[.] xxix.
Loyssing for euer thair honour and thair fame, — Tob. ii
And sumtyme plagit be God with suddand dead ; — i Cor. v[i.] Pro. ix.
But quho that list with wisedome to take head, — Eccl. ix
May daylie merk, and als perfytlie se,
The Harlotis oftymes plagit with all thre.
¶ ȝit nocht wil mak thame from thair sin refrane, — Gal. v.
Quhill Saule & bodie be damnit to hellis pane. — Apoc. x[iv.]
For tha perceaue nocht that thair Miserie, — i Cor. [iii.] Heb. xi[i.]
Dois licht on thame for thair Iniquytie. — Yet they will not give up their sin.
Bot rycht as Pharao on Godis plaigs wald not pance,
Bot thocht tha come be fortune & be chance, — They think God's plague is mere chance,
No moir the Harlot can think his hart within,
That God dois plaig him for his filthie Sin,
And so as Palȝeartis in Peltrie perseueiris, — and so sin on while their strength lasts.
Quhill of thair strenth consumit be the ȝeris.
The pure Plewmen & laubouraris of ȝour lands, — Ye grasping landlords, ye turn out your poor plowmen and labourers, to get more rent,
Quhen tha haue nocht to fill ȝour gredie hands,
Quhair ȝe can spye ane man to geue ȝow mair,
ȝe schute thame furth ; syne puts ane vthir thair.
Howbeit the first haue Barnis aucht or nyne, — though they have 8 or 9 children.

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3e tak no thocht, thocht man and all sulde tyne;
Within few 3eris 3e herye him also,
Syne puts him furth; to beggin most he go;
Thus schift 3e our, in to most gredie wyse,
The quhilk ane Uengeance frome *the* Heauin cryis.
¶ 3it for all this 3e neuer ar content!
Howbeit 3e haue, be fer, moir land and rent
Nor euer had 3our Fatheris 3ow before; [C ii, back]
Bot euer gredie, and gaping still for more.
¶ And all this is, for to setfurth 3our pryde!
3our housis halding is down, & laid on syde:
Quhair hunders wount 3our faders to conuoye,
Now will 3e ryde with ane man and ane boye.
¶ Nocht hes the wyte of this 3our filthie Uice
Bot that fals gredie Idole Auerice,
Quhilk chokkit hes 3our harts so haillelie,
That nothair to God nor honour 3e haue Ee.
¶ Grit meruell is, of 3ow that gett*is* this muk,
Bot 3e sould haue aboundance with gude luk.
And 3it we se thair dois nothing succeid,
Bot barrane ground, with mony frutles weid,
Moir emptye now of warldlis gear and gude
Nor wes 3our Faders, that fand rycht mony fude,
Quhilks had nocht half sa mekill for to spend,
3it had grit ryches, and honour to thair end.
And 3e ar nedye, thriftles, and threid-bair!
Of wrangus gude, no better man can fair.
¶ Iudge 3e 3our selfis, in 3our awin conscience,
Quhat is the cause of 3our grit Indigence!
I saye for me, God will nocht send incresse
To thame that wrangus Conqueis dois possesse!
Syne knawis Gods wourd, syne dois *the* contrarie!
How can sic pepill, with grit God fauourd be?

Then ye soon turn out your fresh tenants too: to beggary! This calls for vengeance from Heaven!

Esay. xx[ii et] iii.

Ye have far more than your fathers.

[Ecc]l. v.

[Esay v.v]iii.[1]

And yet ye gape for more still! And all to show-off your pride!

Your households are cut down. Instead of 100 servants, you have a man and a boy!

Of your filthy vice, Avarice is the cause.

Ye care not for God, or honour either! And yet, though ye should be rich,

[Ecc]l. v.

[Ps. x]ci.

ye are more empty of goods and gear than your fathers were!

Needy, thriftless, and thread-bare are ye!

Why? Because *ye get goods wrongfully!*

[Ec]cl. viii.

[Es]ay. v.

Ye know God's word, and do the contrary.

[1] Woe unto them that join house to house, *That* lay field to field, Till *there be* no place, That they may be placed alone in the midst of *the* earth!

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¶ We reid how Acham, be Gods commandiment,
And be his rycht and most Iust Iudgement,
Wes stond to death, as Iosue concluds,
Because he tuke of Excommunicat guds.
Gyf ȝe haue done with siclyke gudis mell,
I can nocht say; Iudge that amangs ȝour sell.
¶ Quho list the Storie of Achab to persew, [C 2]
And Iesabell his wyfe, that Naboth slew
For his wyne ȝaird, throw gredie Couatyce,
Thair sall ȝe find how God did plaig that Uyce,
And maid thame both most miserablie to de
For thair foule Murthour and Cupeditie.
¶ Saule lost his Kingdome throw his gredines ·
And riche Naball, for his grit churlyschenes
Schewin to Dauid, almaist had bene distroyit,
Gyf Abygall had nocht it weill conuoyit,
And measit Dauid verray Prudentlie;
ȝit God maid Naball schortlie for to de,
And him bereft frome all his wardlie wrak,
For ony fence the churlysche Carll could mak.
As sall all wrachit Churlis layf thair geir,
And vtheris thairof sall mak mirrye cheir,
That nocht pertenit to thame be kin nor blude!
All wrachis wrak thus endis, to conclude.
ȝit mony of Naball*is* blude dois rest behind,
Bot verray few of Abygall*is* to find!
¶ Paule dois pronunce in wourd*is* plane & euin,
That Couatus men sall nocht inherit Heuin,
And dois forbid that we expreslie
Suld bear the Couatus ony companie.
☞ Lo we se heir,—quhat nedis processe mair?—
That God*is* trew wourd maist plainlie dois declair
That Couatus m*en*, quhat way that euer tha wend,
Sall nocht at lenth eschaip ane sorye end.
¶ The Mes, that Idoll,—praysit be God!—is past;
Bot Couatyce, the quhilk is cum in last,

Joshua tells how Achan [Io]sue. vii was stoned, because he 'took of the accursed thing.' Have ye not done this? Judge yourselves!

Ye know how Ahab and i Reg. xx[i] Jezabel, for seizing Naboth's yard, were plagued by God;

i Reg. xiii how Saul lost his kingdom for his greediness; i Reg. xv how Nabal was nearly slain for his churlishness, had not Abigail saved him; and yet he died soon.

Eccl. v. et xiiii. And so all churls shall die, and leave their goods to strangers to waste! We've many Nabals still; but very few Abigails!

i Cor. v et vi.

Thus God's word shows that covetous men shall come to a sorry end.

The Mass is gone, thank God! Exo. xxiii.

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But the worse idol, Covetousness, has come in, and will mar everything.

Is the worst Idoll of the twa, be fer ;
Gyf that this Idoll Rax, it will all mer,
All will be brocht vnto confusioun, [C 2, back] 604
Gods wourd and Lawis vnto abusioun,
The Ciueill Iustice, sall peruertit be,

[A]bac. ii.

[E]xo. xxii.

Uproris sall ryse, and start vp haistelie,

No man will be at rest unless this Covetousness is banished.

No man sall leue at rest and peace with vther, 608
Except this Idoll be banist with the tother ;
And wer we quyte of thir fals Idols baith,
The Godlie than micht soundlie sleip but skaith.

Stop, and repent in time, or

¶ Refrane in tyme ! with speid repent and mend !

[I]oan. iii.

Or God ane sudand plaig sall on 3ow send, 613

[Mat. x.] et xv. you 'll be plagued.

And punysche 3ow be fer moir creuellie
Nor Ignorant*is* befoir wes wint to be !

Unless ye mend, God will take his Holy Word from you.

¶ Without 3e mend, maist certainlie I say 3ow, 616
Gods holy wourd but dout sall be tane fra 3ow.
Because with 3ow it is nothing regardit,
Thairfor with God 3e sall be so rewardit,

Strangers shall take away your Church,—the greatest plague that God can send.—

[I]ere .v.

That vncouth Strangears of ane forene Natioun 620
Sall disapoynt 3our Kirk and Congregatioun,
Quhilk is the gritest Plaig that God can send :
This sall nocht mis ! without 3e schortlie mend,

[A]po. ix.

3e sall be Plagit so, and on sik wyse, 624

Ye shall wish for death, and shall not be able to die.

That 3e sall wysse 3our death ane hundreth syse.
And quhen 3e wald, 3it sall 3e no wayis de ;
That death 3e 3airne, it sall fast frome 3ow fle.

Iere. ix. xvii. and xxviii.

For Disobedience vnto Gods wourd, 628
3e sall be Plagit with Hunger, Pest, and swourd,

Hunger, pest, sword, and fire, Esa. xxiiii shall fall on you.

With Hirschip, Fyre, with Dearth, and Pestelence,
Because 3e Sin aganis 3our Conscience ;

God's word was never so truly preached ; and yet never were so many ungodly men seen !

For God[i]s wourd wes neuer moir trewlie teachit 632
Nor it is now in mony placis preachit,
And neuer sa mony vngodlie pepill sene
In to this earth, sen it Inhabit bene !

¶ Quhairfor, gyf 3e grit God wald glorefie, [C 1] 636

Ioan. xv[ii.]

Imbrace his wourd and learne to fructefie,

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And lat 3our werks and wourds aggre togidder,
That euerye man may graip, and als considder,
It is Gods wourd and pure Religioun
That 3e obserue in 3our professioun.

¶ Quhat helpis it, thocht we the wourd professe,
Except the Frute proceid thairof expresse?
Thus lat 3our deids so schyne in tymes to cum,
Tha sall be sene, and kend till all and sum,
That the Behaldars may crye *with* Ioyfull steuin,
"Grace, glore, *and* honour, be to *the* Father of Heuin!"
So quhen 3our werks dois *with* 3our wourds aggre,
No dout 3e sall the Father glorefie.

¶ The secund proffit, rycht as our Text it merks,
Tuytching the bringing furth of Godlie werks,
With faithfull Pepill that dois thair God regaird,
Semplie I haue heir in few wourds declaird,
So that thair rests of this mateir no mair,
Bot the thrid proffit onlie to declair,
Quhilk schortlie now, be Gods grace, I sall end:
Gyf ear*is* heirfor, and to my wourds attend!

Let your works agree with your words!

What's the good of professing, unless you *do?* Iac. i.

Let your deeds shine forth so that the beholders may glorify God!

Ioan. xv

Works (with words) glorify God.

I've thus set forth the 2nd profit from godly works,

and pass on to the 3rd.

Attend to me!

¶ FOLLOWIS THE THRID PROFFIT OF THAME THAT ABYDIS IN TO CHRIST. II. 2. C.

¶ THE TEXT.

¶ AND BE MAID MY DISCYPLIS.

THe thrid and Finall last Commoditie,
'The trew Discyplis of Christ we sall all be
That bydis in Christ, & Christs wourd in to thame:'
My Text, this Sentence plainlie dois declame,

The 3rd profit is: we shall be true disciples of Christ.

Ioan. xv

¶ Be the quhilk wourd*is*, merking *the* circumstance,
Heir is requyrit ane ferme contynewance
In to Gods wourd, compleitlie to our end,
Gyf we his trew Discyplis wald be kend.

We must continue in Him to the end.

Ioan. xv.

¶ Inconstant men, my Text heir plane declaris, [C1, bk]
Nane for to be, of Christ*is* trew Scolaris;

Inconstant men are not Christ's true scholars;

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but those who'll confirm His doctrine with their blood,

Bot tha ar Christ Discyplis, to conclude,
That will conferme his Doctrine *with* thair blude,
As quhen it cu*m*mis to that Extremite,
For to Renunce Christ*is* Uangell, or to de,
And chusis than to suffer fyre and swourd
Rather than renounce His Heauinly wourd,

rather than renounce His heavenly word.

¶ As did the Prophet*is*, and Mertyris mony one
With the Appostill*is*, in to the dayis bygone;

We have seen right many die for Christ,

And in our dayis rycht mony we did se
For Christ*is* wourd do suffer pacientlie

who might have had life, money, wives and bairns

Maist cruell death, and mycht haue had thair lyues,
With ȝeirlie rent*is* to thame, thair barnis & wyues,

to give Him up.

Gyf tha the wourd of God wald haue refusit:
Tha did nocht swa, bot bitter death tha chusit.

But they chose bitter death.

¶ All thir Discyplis hes this rewaird heirfore,

And they shall [ii] Cor. i. have part with Christ in Heaven,

Tha sall haue pairt with Christ in Heauinnis glore,
As dois the promeis of Christ till ws propone
In the Euangell of the Apostill Ihone,

[I]oan. xvii

Quhair, to the father, Christ speykand speciallie,
Sayand thir wourds, "quhom thow hes geuin to me,

as He wills;

"I will that tha thair be with me also,

and shall see His glory,

"And se my glore in Heauin, quhair I sall go."
So this last proffit the rest dois fer transcend,

without end.

That is Eternall, and neuer sall haue end.

¶ Suld lose of gud[i]s, lyfe, or feir of pyne,

Math. x.

Mak ws this Heauinlie Thesaure for to tyne?
Quhat is it wourth to man, to win but more,

Mat. xvi.

The haill warld, wanting the Heauinnis glore?

All earthly things pass away. Heaven abides, and is only to be won by those in whom God's word takes rest.

¶ All earthlie things, tha ar bot transitorie,
Except this Heauinlie and Celestiall glorie,
Quhilk be no vther meanis can be possest, [sign. D]
Except Gods wourd in to our hart*is* tak rest.

Death comforts the good,

¶ That death to man, it is grit consolatioun,
The quhilk dois lead the Saule vnto saluatioun;

but terrifies the damned.

Bot verray feirfull and dolent is that dead
That dois the Saule vnto Damnatioun lead.

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¶ With Deligence now lat ws all heirfore 704 Diligently then let us embrace Christ,
Imbrace Christ Iesus, that we may cum to glore,
And in tymes cumming lat none so ernistlie pance
On earthlie glore, that lestis bot ane glance ;
Bot lat our laubour, studie, and Meditatioun, 708 and let all our study be to seek our salvation, and know that none can serve God and Mammon too.
Be euer bent to seik for our Saluatioun ;
And deiplie in our hartis lat ws considder,
None can serue God & Mammone boith togidder.

☞ Wo worth the landis, the gudis, gear, and flesche, Woe to the goods and flesh that draw us from Christ!
That dois man frome this heuinlie glore depesche ! 713
To the quhilk glore, now breiflie to conclude,
Mot bring ws Christ, that bocht ws with his blude !

So be it. 716

¶ Glore, Honour, Prayse, and Laude, Eternallie,
To God, for this Pure Werk ! and none to me,

¶ Quod Lauder.

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The Lamentatioun

OF THE PURE. TWICHING THE MISERABILL ESTAIT OF THIS PRESENT WARLD. COMPYLIT BE WILLIAM LAUDER. AT PERTH. PRIMO FABRUARIE.

1568.

[*How lange, Lorde, sall this warld indure?*]

The world is full of mischief.

THis warld is war nor euer it was!
Full of myscheif, and all malure;
Fals and fragell as the glas!
How lang, Lorde, sall this warld indure? 4

Professors will not help God's word.

¶ For mony dois God*is* worde profes, [sign. D, back]
Bot for to keip it, few takis cure,
Thay ar so bent to weikitnes!
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 8

Fat sows feed one another and don't pity the poor.

¶ Now euerie fat Sow feidis ane vther[1],
And few hes pitie on the Pure;
Couatice gydis and rewlis the Ruder:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 12

The rich abhor the poor: Protestants too!

¶ The men quhome God hes rychelie dotit,
Abhorris the emptye Creature,
Cheiflie Protestantes, lat ws notit[2]
How lang, Lord, wyll, this warld indure? 16

[1] See above, p. 17, l. 460. [2] note it.

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¶ 3it ar nocht thir Protestantes trew,
Bot Ipocretis, I am most sure,
That hes renuncit Christ Iesu :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

Hypocrites they are, who have renounced Christ.

¶ Frome fraude, [frome[1]] falset, and frome gyle,
No Preaching can the pepill allure :
Lawtie and luife ar in exile :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

Loyalty and love are banished.

¶ Hipocrasie, vaine Glore, and Pryde,
Now blawis thair Bugillis strang and sture ;
Simplysitie is sett on syde :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

Vain Glory and Pride blow their bugles.

¶ The reuth that Papistis hes, I saye,
On thame that beggis frome dure to dure,
Sall ws accuse on Domesdaye :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure

The Papists' charity shall accuse us at Doomsday!

¶ Now mony vsis Sosserie,
Doand the deuylis of Hell coniure,
Seikand to knaw how all sulde be : [D 1; no sig.]
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

People practise sorcery, conjuring up the devils of Hell.

¶ Iustice is rowpit, as vtheris waris ;
This is most plane, and nocht obscure,
The puré Pepill it declaris :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

Justice is sold to the highest bidder.

¶ The falsest Actioun that may be,
Sall no wayis want ane Procuture ;
The Deuyll, he wyll get one for fe :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warlde indure ?

The Devil finds an attorney to push the falsest action.

¶ Loude leand Lowreis, for thair sleuth
Was treatit, passing throw mosse and Mure :
Upon trew Preacheour*is* few hes reuth :
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure ?

Loud-lying Foxes are cared for ;

true Preachers passed over.

[1] *or read* fraud-e.

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Trust is gone.
Usury rules:
2d. for 1d.!

¶ Credit and frist is quyte away,
No thing is lent bot for Usure;
For euerie penny thay wyll haue tway:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 52

Old good deeds are forgotten.

¶ For auld kyndnes thow sall nocht get
Bot Magerie, Malice, and Iniure;
Auld gude done dedis ar quyte forȝet:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 56

Dainty Dames won't support the faithful.

¶ The dayntie Dammis may nocht sustene
The faithfull, for to fyle thair flure,
Bot treatis thame *that* tryit trumpour*is* bene:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 60

Flatterers, Bards, Brothel-haunters, are treated best.

¶ Ane fenȝeit flatterair or Fuile, I say,
Ane Barde, ane Bragger, or Bordell Hure;
Ar none treatit so weill as thay:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 64

Nothing on earth is worse than pride in a Minister.

¶ In all the earth is no thing wer [D 1, back]
In to no earthlie Creature,
Nor heicht into ane Minister:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 68

Papists are more liberal to one another than some Ministers are.

¶ ȝit Papistis bearis ilke ane to vther
More liberall luife, I am moste sure,
Nor dois sum Minister to his Brother:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 72

Daughter and son scorn father and mother.

¶ And now the Dochter and the Sone
Lichtlyis the Mother that thame bure,
And forȝettis quhat thair Father hes done:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 76

For all this ill, God's word is not to blame.

¶ Of this Iniure and dispyte
Wrocht of all cankerit Creature,
I saye God*is* wourd hes nocht the wyte:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure? 80

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¶ For to behauld this Miserie,
My breist in baill it dois combure,
Sen reuth is none, nor ȝit Pitie:
How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure?

My heart burns to see all this misery.

¶ Sen all Estaitis this[1] gois astray,
Lat no man think bot this is sure,
That God wyll Plaig ws but delay,
For thus we can nocht lang indure.

Surely, God will plague us for it soon.

¶ Quhairfore, lat euerie Creature,
The Mercyis of grit God procure,
That we may ones[2] Inbrace the Lycht
Of Heauin, quhilk euer sall indure.

Let us all, then, pray that we may all embrace the Light of Heaven!

¶ FINIS.

Quod Lauder.

[1] thus: see p. 9, l. 205. [2] at once.

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Ane prettie Mirrour

Or Conference, betuix the faithfull Protestant and the Dissemblit false Hypocreit. In to the quhilk may be maist easylie perceaued & knawin the one from the tother. Compylit be William Lauder Minister of the Iwourd of God. For the Instructioun, Confort, and Consolatioun of all Faithfull Professours. To quhome he wyssith Grace Mercy and Peace, in Jesus Christ our Lord, and onlie Sauiour. So be it.



Luke in to this Mirrour, and thow sall cleirlie ken
All faithfull trew Christianes, from fals dissemblit men.

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[leaf 1, back.]

To the faithful Reder.

These verses are sweet to the Godly, but odious to the Vicious.

THir Uearse ar sweit and rycht delicius
Unto the hart*is* of Godlie men, I ken;
But to the weked tha ar rycht odius,
And comptit folie w*ith* all vnfaithful men.

They show the ways of the Godly, and the vice of the Wicked.

¶ For of the Godlie, tha schew the trade and ways,
How tha thame self*is* heir vpon earth dois gyde;
And of the weked, thair vice and grit decaye;
Quhilk manassing tha can no wayis abyde.

Let each man examine himself, and if he is guilty, repent.

¶ Humblie heirfore I walde ilk man exhort
Thame self to trye[1] out, be this subsequent,
Gyf vice or virtew dois maist in thame resort:
Quha find*is* him gyltie, God gra*nt* he may repent!

So be it.

[1] crye *in orig.*

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Beginnis the Conferrence.

The chosin children of God, and sones elect, — The Chosen rejoice in God's word,
Reiosis cheiflie to heir his blissit wourd :
The sons of sathan, quhilk*is* ar from God reiect, — Satan's sons abhor it.
Abhorris *that* same more nor ane two edgit swourd.

¶ The Godlie will with pacience Imbrace — The Godly take rebuke patiently,
Dew Admonitioun for thair vice and sin :
The wekit can nocht, in the contrair cace, — the Wicked do not.
Sustene reproche, syne byde thair witt*is* within.

¶ The godlie will in to gude pairt sustene, — The Godly take chastisement humbly,
Dew chaistisment for thair Sin and offence :
Punysche the wekit, tha will alwayis complene, — [leaf 2] the Wicked complain.
As geue tha wer opprest be violence.

¶ The godlie men with pietie ar opprest — The Godly pity the poor:
To see thair Brethren in necessitie :
The Hypocreit*is* ar neuer at ease nor rest — the Hypocrites exult in the misery of the Faithful.
But quhen the faithfull sustenis miserie.

¶ The Godlie men will do no man bakbyte, — The Godly do not backbite;
Nowthair in patent nor in to priuie place :
In blasphemie the wekit dois delyte, — the Wicked delight in blasphemy.
And frome Iniurie his toung can neuer cease.

¶ The Godlie man will vse no mokkerie, — The Godly do not mock;
And will no wayis with sic vaine maters mell :
The Hypocreit will skorne contynewallie, — the Hypocrites always scorn others.
And neuer can finde ane falt in to him sell.

¶ The Godlie men will vse no fraude nor gylis, — The Godly use no frauds,
And will be laith to sute men to the law :
The Hypocreit*is* ar euer breding wylis, — the Hypocrites ever breed wiles.
And passing how, thair broder to owrthraw.

¶ The Godlie men ar full of gentilnes, — The Godly are full of love;
Of Lawtie, Loue, and liberalitie :
The Hypocreit*is* ar full of gredines, — the Hypocrites of avarice.
Of Aueryce, and Pegeralitie.[1]

[1] Lat. *piger*, reluctant, unwilling, averse. *Pegrall:* Lyndesay.

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The Godly feed the poor;

¶ The Godlie men, tha do support the pure,
And geuis thame glaidlie of thair geir and gudo:

the Hypocrites rob them.

The Hypocreitis dois take more thocht and cure
How tha may reaue from thame thair daylie fude.

The Godly are content in woe and weel;

¶ The Godlie men Elykewise ar content, 49
Als weill in neid as in prosperitie:

[leaf 2, back] the Hypocrites in need curse God.

The Hypocreitis, quhen geir is frome thame went,
Tha blaspheme God in thair aduersitie. 52

The Godly hate sin,

¶ The Godlie men detestis all vice and Sin,
And all transgressouris and thair companie:

the Hypocrites delight in it.

The Hypocreitis, tha do delyte thairin,
Leading thair lyues in all Impietie. 56

The Godly take no bribes;

¶ The Godlie men, no brybs nor buds[1] will take,
To hurt the ane pairt, nor to helpe the vther:

the Hypocrites do.

The Hypocreit will thinke no schame nor lak,
Buds to receaue, and tha wer fra his broder. 60

The Godly serve one God;

¶ The Godlie men will serue ane God allone,
Quhilk maker is of Heauin, the earth, and seye:

the Hypocrites many.

The Hypocretis makis gods mony one,
With quhome tha do commit Idolatrie. 64

The Godly are true in their dealings;

¶ The Godlie men in all thair wayis ar plaine,
And cheiflie euer onto thair faithfull brother:

the Hypocrites are false.

The Hypocreitis ar fenzeit, fals, and vaine;
Will saye ane thing, and syne will do ane vther.

The Godly are lowly and loving;

¶ The Godlie ar repleit with lawlynes, 69
With louyng kyndnes, and humelytie:

the Hypocrites proud and spiteful.

The Hypocreitis, thocht tha it nocht expres,
Ar full of hiclit, dispyte, and tyrannie. 72

The Godly labour for peace;

¶ The Godlie labours for vnitie and peace,
For concorde, kyndnes, and tranquilytie:

the Hypocrites for strife.

The Hypocreitis dois neuer stanche nor cease
To rais discorde and Innanymitie. 76

[1] *Bud*, a gift; generally one that is meant as a bribe. *Acts, Ja. I.*, in Jamieson.

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¶ The Godlie luffis thair Pastours, for thair cure, — The Godly love their Pastors;
And will be sorie to se thame want or wrangt:
The Hypocreit*is* regairds nocht, we ar sure, — [leaf 3]
Thocht all the preachours on *the* earth wer hangt. — the Hypocrites would like to see 'em hanged.

¶ The Godlie men will still cleue to Gods wourd, 81 — The Godly are true to the death;
Thocht tha to death for it suld be persewit:
The Hypocreit, sa sone as cu*m*mis the swourd, — the Hypocrites soon deny the Faith.
Will it denye, and sweir he neuer knewit.[1] 84

¶ The Godlie men setts God before all things, — The Godly set God first;
Before thair lyues, thair guds, [&] geir, or lands:
The Hypocreit*is*, before God puts thair kings, — the Hypocrites despise Him.
Dispysing God, his lawis, and his commands. 88

¶ The Godlie men ar knawin be thir merks, — The Godly are known by these marks;
Rycht as the daye is tryit be the lycht:
Euin so the wekit, be thair vicius werks — the Wicked by their dark deeds.
Ar so espyit, as derknes schewis the nycht. 92

¶ For as no wayis, the fyre, it can be knawin — No fire can be without heat;
To be ane fyre, withouttin heit or lycht:
No more *the* faithfull, except gude werks be schawin, — not Godly without good works.
Can notit be for to be Christianes rycht. 96

¶ The preist, & Leueit, *the* quhilk did nocht support — Luc. x. The Priest and Levite were not faithful;
The woundit man in to his greif and paine,
Could nocht be comptit faithful in no sort — Luc. xvi. like the good Samaritan.
As was the helpfull trew Samaritaine. 100

¶ Nor ȝit the Gluttoun, quha fed delicius, — Nor was the glutton Dives,
Could nocht be said to haue fidelytie,
That petiit nocht the puré Lazarus, — who pitied not Lazarus so much as the dogs did,
Quhen Dogs did schew in him more cherytie. 104

¶ Q[u]hairthrow *the* Gluttoun vnto the hell was sent, — and was first sent to Hell,
That had no reuth nor pietie on the pure:
All Hypocreitts that lykewise dois offend, — [leaf 3, back] where all Hypocrites shall go too.
With him in Hell sall harbreit be most sure. 108

[1] knew it.

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We boast ourselves Christians; but if we do not good works, we are very Hypocrites.

¶ Thus, thocht we boist, Christianes to be,
Except gude werks proceid out of our spreits,
We ar bot membris of Iniquytie,
And ar nocht els bot verray Hypocreits.

Let us show forth good works; and be known as God's servants!

¶ Lat ws heirfore schew furth with al our mycht
Our godlie werks of mercy and of loue:
Quhairthrow we may be kend of euery wycht,
The faithfull seruands of God that rings aboue.

Let us mortify all lewd affections, and force our enemies to call us Christians.

¶ Lat leud affectionis and all Impieteis
Be mortefiit in to our membris all,
That tha may nocht, quhilks ar our Inymeis,
No vther thing bot Christianes ws call.

Ye Godly, rejoice!

¶ Godlie, heirfore Reioyse, that hes thir sings![1]

God has chosen you!

Ȝe may be sure that God hes ȝow elect!

Wicked! Repent or be lost!

Bewaill, ȝe weked, that in sick vicis rings![2]
But ȝe repent, the Lord hes ȝow reiect!

Godly! Stand firm!

¶ All ȝe, heirfore, that hes Gods wourd profest,
And maid with God and man, that blyssit band,
Stand ferme and stable, gyf ȝe wald cum to rest,

The fan is near at hand.

for now the Fan approchis fast at hand.[3]

Let nothing of this world make you shrink back!

¶ Se that no ryches, nor wardlie pomp nor glore,
Mak ws schrink bak now frome the veritie!
And quho so dois, to thair grit schame but more,
God will disclose thair vile Hypocresie.

O God! defend Thy flock!

¶ Eternall God! thy faithfull flok defend!
Preserue thame, Lord, for now and euer more!

Send them Thy peace!

And grace, and peace, vnto thy subiects send,
That seiks nocht els, bot to set furth thy glore!

Quod William Lauder.

[1] these signs. [2] in whom such vices reign.

[3] 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and *with* fire: whose fan *is* in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the Garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.' John the Baptist, in *Matthew* iii. 11, 12. See also *Luke* iii. 16, 17.

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Ane trew & breue Sen- [leaf 4]

tencius Discriptioun of ye nature of Scotland Twi-

ching the Interteinment of virtewus men That laketh Ryches. Compyld be William Lauder, Minister of Gods wourd. &c.

***

HOwbeit thow war of portrature preclair,
And war indewit *with* prignant virteuis seir,
And thocht *in* knawledge *thou* had no compair,
That thou culd teache all sciencis perqueir,
And thocht of blude thow war ane prencis peir,
3it in this Realme, I Lat the vnderstand,
And thow Layk substance of thy awin, and geir,
Thow will be Lytill regardit in this Land.

Though you are handsome, virtuous, peerless in knowledge, and nobly born, yet here, if you lack gear, you'll be little regarded.

¶ Bot thocht thow be ane Ideote, or ane fule,
Ane maykles monstour, withoutin wit or lair,
Ane Blunt bubo, that neuer had bene at scule,
And sik as Is of euerye virtew bair,
3it haue thow gud*is* and geir, I the declair,—
Thoucht thow be weked, I put the out of dout,—
And thocht thow war to sathane, Sone & air,
3it for thy bag*is* thow sall be takin owt.

But if you're an idiot, a monster of a fool, a stupid owl, without a virtue, wicked, Satan's own son, yet, if you've bags, you'll be well received.

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Alas! The virtuous poor are of no worth:

¶ Allace! heir is ane Cairfull Miserie!
That virtewis men but geir ar of no pryce,

beasts, for bags, are in authority!

And Beasts, for bags, ar in Authorytie!
I think this change is wonderus strange & nyce!

The cause is Covetousness.

The caus heirof Is onlie Couattyse, 21
That blinds so man that he can no wayis se
To cheryse virtew, And ay chaistyce vice:

Alas! Alas!

Allace! heir is ane cairfull misere! 24

quod Lauder.

[leaf 4, back]

¶ Neathir virtew nor wit, in to this weked land
Doith proffeit thame that hes nocht gud*is* in hand.

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☞ ANE GVDE EXEMPILL. ☜

[leaf 4, back]

BE THE BUTTERFLIE, INSTRUCTING MEN TO HAIT ALL HARLOTTRIE.[1]

The Butterflie, hir self for to distroye,
Upone the nycht to flie Scho dois nocht stint
Unto the candle,—scho taks thairof sick Ioye,—
Quhill scho hirself in to the Flam haue brint.
My tender freind, this in thy hart thow hint
And haue It euer in thy momorye:
Quha hants Hurdome, no dout be sall be tint,
And Birne him self, as dois the Butterflie.

As the butterfly flies at night into the candle till she's burnt;

so, young friend, remember that the Whorer shall be lost and burnt. i. Cor. vi [xvii]

¶ The sapient salomon, *with* wemen was confoundit,
Thocht he was wysest that euer nature wrocht;
The force of Samson, *that* in to strenth aboundit,
Be Dalyla was suttellie out socht;
The Propheit Dauid, full deir his loue he bocht,
With mony mo that vsit sick vaniteis,
Was dyuers wayis vnto confusioun brocht,
And Brint thame selffs, as dois the Butterfleis.

iii. Reg. xi.
By women, Eccle. .xlvij. Sap. vii. viii.
Solomon was Iud. xvi. and .xiiij. confounded, .ii. Regum. xi.
Samson lost his strength, and David suffered.

[1] See above, p. 19.

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Math. v. Exod. xx. My friends, Liuic. xix. keep from and Deu. xxv. Pro. xxix. detest that sin i. Cor. vi. and .vii. and lust! Its followers will be burnt like the butterfly.

¶ Quhairfor, my freinds, from fantasie refraine !
Detest that Sin of vice and vanytie,
Quhilk saule & bodie both dois bring to paine !
Fle frome that lust, as frome 3our Inymie !
Syne, in this mateir, merk the Moralytie,
And lat it be to 3ow ane trew Instructioun,
Thay may be all compard vnto this Flie,
That wylfullie dois wirk thair awin Distructioun.

If married men decently use their wives, let no man Math. xix. reprove this: God ordained it to make men hate harlotry. i. Cor. vi. and .vii. Let, then, all who haven't the gift of chastity, choose a lawful Love.

¶ Thocht men in Mariage, with thair maiks repair
In Decent maner, no man suld It reproue,
For of that Band God was the Minister,
Ordand of him for our wealth and behoue.
Sen this Command we haue frome God aboue,
Cheiflie for this, to hait all Harlottrie,
Lat euerie one chuse thame thair lauchfull Loue,
That lakis that Holy gyft of Chaistetie.

Quod William Lauder, Minister.

[There are some marks at the right corner of the foot of the page, which look at first like part of a catchword, but which a practised bibliographer, whom I askt about them, reads 'ende'. I supposed them to be ink-marks.]

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NOTES:

JUSTIFICATIONS OF THE BIBLICAL AND OTHER REFERENCES PARED OFF BY THE BINDER OF THE *GODLIE TRACTATE*, AND RE-INSERTED BY THE REV. WALTER GREGOR OF PITSLIGO MANSE, ROSEHEARTY, BY FRASERBURGH, ABERDEENSHIRE.

Line 41. Math. [v.] 18. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.

l. 42. 1 Peter [iv.] 11. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.

l. 43-46. Isa. lvi[ii.] 1. Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sin.

l. 68. [G]al. ii. and [iii.]. The whole chapter is against the doctrine of salvation by works.

l. 75. [J]aco. i. Verse 8 is applicable, "A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways."

l. 280. Mar. vi[ii.] 31. And he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.

l. 281. Ioan xv[i.] 28. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again I leave the world, and go to the Father.

l. 283-4. Ioan xv[i.] 7. Nevertheless I tell you the truth: It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.

l. 295. Ioan vi[i.] 34. Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me.

l. 309-312. *Berengarius* and *Hugo*. [Hug]o Be[ren]g. de [Tour]se. The true doctrine of Transubstantiation was first propounded by Paschasius Radbert of Corbey, in his work "de corpore et sanguine Domini," addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald, between the years 830 and 832. This doctrine was generally adopted

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as orthodox, till towards the middle of the eleventh century, when Berengar, Canon of Tours, and afterwards Archdeacon of Angers, called it in question in a letter addressed to Lanfranc, first, abbot of St Stephen in Caen, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Berengar was condemned at Rome, 1050, under Leo X., without a hearing. This condemnation was repeated the same year at Vercelli. In 1054 another Council was held at Tours; but, with the help of Gregory VII., Berengar was protected from the fury of his enemies. In 1059 another Council was held at Rome, at which he was condemned through the violent conduct of Humbert, and compelled to subscribe a confession of faith drawn up by Humbert, in which he professed to believe, "panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri."

Hugo St Victor, an Augustinian canon in the monastery of St Victor at Paris, was born either at Ypres or in Lower Saxony in the year 1096. He was one of the most learned men of the age, and one of the profoundest thinkers. His aim was to combine scholasticism with mysticism. He was called by his contemporaries "alter Augustinus" and "lingua Augustini." His principal work is entitled:— De sacramentis fidei Christianæ, Ll. II.

l. 311-12. [Colo]s. ii. The whole chapter is on union with Christ. Verse 19: And not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

l. 455. Ioan [xiii.] 4-17. Christ washing the disciples' feet.

l. 511. Prov. ix[.] This may be for vi. or vii.: vi. 23, 29, or vii. 6-23. [Verse 18 of ch. ix. is meant by Lauder's l. 514; but in his first reference to Luke xv. (the Prodigal Son), the elder son's words, 'as soon as this thy son was come, which hath *devoured thy living with harlots*,' may point to the literal meaning of the '*bread eaten in secret*' of Prov. ix. 17.

13 A foolish woman *is* clamorous:
She is simple, and knoweth nothing.
14 For she sitteth at the door of her house,
On a seat in the high places of the city,
15 To call passengers
Who go right on their ways:
16 Whoso *is* simple, let him turn in hither:
And *as for* him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,
17 Stolen waters are sweet,
And bread *eaten* in secret[1] is pleasant.
18 But he knoweth not that the dead *are* there;
And that her guests *are* in the depths of hell.—F. J. F.]

[1] *Heb.* of secrecies.

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l. 518-19. Apoc. x[iv.] 9, 10, 11. And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

l. 520. 1 Cor. [iii.] 3. For ye are yet carnal: for whereas *there is* among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? See Gal. v.

l. 538-41. [Ecc]l. v. 10. He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase.

l. 552. [Ecc]l. v. 12, 13, 14. The abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep. There is a sore evil *which* I have seen under the sun, *namely*, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt. But those riches perish by evil travail.

l. 552. [Ps. x]ci. 7-9; Ps. xcii. of the Authorized Version. When the wicked spring as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish; *it is* that they shall be destroyed for ever: for thou, Lord, *art most* high for evermore. For, lo, thine enemies, O Lord, for, lo, thine enemies shall perish; all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered.

l. 560-64. [Ec]cl. viii. 12, 13. Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his *days* be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him: But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong *his* days, *which are* as a shadow; because he feareth not before God.

l. 613. [Mat. x.] et xv. 11-15. 15. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

l. 636. Ioan. xv[ii.] 17. Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.

ib. verse 22. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.

l. 684. [2] Cor. i. 20. For all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us.

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GLOSSARY.

5/18 means page 5, line 18.

abone, 11/264, above
Abygall, 21/581, Abigail
Achab, 21/572, Ahab
Acham, 21/566, Achan
aduert, 4/32, turn to me, attend
alquhair, 19/499, everywhere
Aman, 17/449, Haman
Antechrist, 5/72
as, with, 19/503, to ashes
at, 15/369, in
at all, 9/214, at all events
Avarice, 20/547

bags, 5/75, money-bags
baill, 29/82, flame, blaze (bale-fire, bonfire)
baptism, 5/59
blindlynes, 13/332, blindly
bordell, 28/62, brothel
bourd, 4/40, joke
brether, 10/219, brethren
briganrye, 11/472, brigandage
brint, 3/4, burnt
bubo, 37/11, owl, stupid
buds, 34/57, 60, bids, offers, gifts, bribes, or gifts meant as a bribe
bure, 28/74, bare, bore
busse, 5/76, bush
but, 6/91, without
Butterfly and candle, p. 39-40

cairfull, 38/17, 24, full of care, of trouble
calyditie, 15/388, warmth
cassin, 6/100, cast
cearche, 11/244, search
cheryse, 38/23, cherish
combure, 29/82, burn up
compair, 37/3, compeer
conqueis, 20/563, possessions. M.Lat. *conquestus*, biens acquis, n'importe comment, par héritage, guerre, &c.—*D'Arnis.*
contryne, 18/476, scheme, drive, or constrain
couattyse, 38/21, covetousness
couatus, 21/593-8, covetous
cure, 4/46, care

Dalyla, 39/12, Delilah
daft, 12/267, foolish, mad
David, 14/350
de, 17/459, die
Dearth of 1568 A.D., p. x-xi
declame, 23/661, speak out, declare
depesche, 25/713, hinder
der, 17/459, dare

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deuylrie, 16/421, devilry
disapoynt, 22/621, disestablish, take away
discyde, 3/19 (L. *discindo*, cleave asunder), discuss; 10/230, 17/443, declare
discydit, 6/83, discuss it, understand it
Dives, 7/117, 35/105
dolent, 24/702, grievous
dotit, 26/13, endowed

elec, 9/194, elect
eleckit, 9/185, elected
election, the doctrine of, p. 14-15
elykewise, 34/49, likewise
eschamit, 18/462, ashamed
esperance, 12/299, hope

falset, 27/21, falsehood
Fan, Christ's, 36/128
fence, 21/585, defence
fenȝeit, 28/61, 34/67, feigning, false
Flam, 39/4, flame
flammis, 17/460, flams, gammons, flatters. I rather imagine *flam* is a term used in cooking, to baste meat, with butter, or fat gravy, while roasting.—*D. Laing.*
force, 9/208, needs, of necessity
fordwart, 15/380, forward, further
frist, 28/49, delay, lending on trust
futher, 18/461, foother, *fudder*, a great quantity; A.S. *fo*ðer, mass, load; Germ. *fuder*, a wine-tun.—*Percy Folio Bal. & Rom.*, i. 172, l. 160.
fylis, 18/468, defiles

geir, 37/18, goods, money
germane, 16/403, belonging to the same germ, genuine
girnallis, 18/490, garners, granaries
glore, 6/105, glory
Glutton, the, and Lazarus, 7/117, 35/105
God-makers, Popish, 13/314
graip, 3/9, grope, feel, perceive
Greediness of the rich, 18/468
grapand, 9/188, groping, examining
gyf, 12/283, if

haill, 6/85, whole
haillelie, 20/548, wholly
hants, 39/7, practises
harbreit, 35/108, harboured, lodged
harlotry, filthy and open, 19/498, 39/30
heicht, hicht, 17/444, 28/67, 34/72, hauteur, pride
heir doun, 7/135, down here
heirfor, 3/13, for this reason
herye, 20/534, harry, rob, spoil
Hester, 17/448, (the book of) Esther
hint, 39/5, seize, take
hirschip, 18/469, 22/630, act of harrying; and its result, 18/478, need, misery
hose, 17/425, breeches (Pref. p. xxi-xxii)
hypocrites, p. 33-36

Iesabell, 21/573, Jezabel
ilkane, 11/256, each one
imps, 16/408, grafts
in, 17/454, on
indurs, 4/36, endures, continues
ingraft, 4/25, 29, engrafted
ingrauit, 10/237, engrafted
ingrauyng, 11/247, engrafting

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innanymitie, 34/76, enmity
in to, 4/34, in
Ihone, 18/464, St John
Iosue, 21/568, Joshua
iowking, 13/324, joking, playing tricks
Ipocretis, 27/18, hypocrites
Iusse, 6/107, juice

kend, 23/666, known as

lair, 37/10, lore, learning
landlords, greedy, 19/528, &c.
laubouraris, 19/528, labourers
lawlynes, 34/69, lowliness
lawtie, 27/23, loyalty
layfis, 18/467, leave
laykis, 12/268, despise, A.S. *wlacian*
Lazarus, 7/117
le, 12/287, lie; leis, 6/94, lies
lead, 17/455, practise
learnis, 16/418, teaches
leue in to, 8/154, believe in
leuis, 8/162, live
Levite, the, 35/97
lichtlyis, 28/74, makes light of, despises
lowreis, 27/45, lowries, foxes, crafty persons, deceivers
Lucypheir, 17/434, Lucifer
lychorie, 19/504, lechery
lyuelie, 4/39, living

Magdalene, the, 14/350
Magerie, 28/54, ? magic, conjuring; see 27/33-4
maiks, 40/25, mates, wives
malure, 26/2, *malheur*, mishap . . disaster, calamitie, miserie.—*Cotgrave.*
man, 9/208, must
man, one, and a boy, the only retinue of the rich, 20/545
maykles, 37/10, matchless
measit, 21/582, mitigated, appeased
mell, 21/570, meddle
Merdocheus, 17/450, Mordecai
mertyris, 24/674, martyrs
Messe, 5/65, Romish 'Mass,' 21/600
mischeuous, 17/453, bad, ill-finishing
mot, 25/75, may

Nabal, 21/579; modern Nabals, 21/590
Naboth, 21/573
Nabuchodonezer, 17/442
nemmit, 18/463, named, called
Nero, 7/115
nor, 11/260, than

on, 14/357, of
ones, 29/91, at once
or, 8/160, ere, before
our, 19/499, over
owrthraw, 33/40, overthrow

Paip, 11/245, Pope
Palȝeartis, 19/526, lechers. Lyndesay's *Monarche*, l. 5706. Fr. *paillard:* m. A lecher, wencher, whoremunger, whorehunter. *Paillarde:* f. A whore, punke, drab, strumpet, harlot, queane, courtezan, strumpet.—*Cotgrave.*
pance, 19/522, 25/706, pense, think
Papist, 12/285; Papisticall, 12/291
Paul, 16/401

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pegeralitie, 33/44, reluctance, stinginess
peltrie, 19/526, ? fornication
perqueir, 37/4, *par cœur*, by heart, accurately (*Jamieson*)
persewit, 35/82, persecuted
peruerst, 5/64, perverse
Peter, 14/350
Pharaoh, 7/116, 17/438
plat, 7/131, plainly, flat
plead, 6/91, debate, discussion
plewmen, 19/528, ploughmen
port, 7/146, 18/493, gate
precellit, 13/317, excelled
Pride, p. 17, 27/25
professors, 16/410
puris, 18/490, poor people
Pussant, for *puissant*, 4/44, powerful

quhidder, 9/212, whether
quhilk, the, 5/52, who
quhill, 12/282, til

rax, 22/603, rule (? A.S. *ricsian*)
reieckit, 7/128, reiect, 36/124, rejected
reif, 14/343, robbery
retreattabill, 4/41, withdrawable
Reuth (but), 17/459, without pity
Rin (the), 5/58, they run
ring, 12/297, reign. *Ring* is still the pronunciation of Banffshire.—*W. Gregor*
ringand, 15/393, reigning
rowpit, 27/37, sold (by auction). See Lyndesay's *Satyre* on the Judges, p. 415

Salomon, 39/9, Solomon
Salvation by works, 5/68
salyke, 17/428, so likely!
Samaritan, the Good, 35/100
Sampson, 39/11
sapour, 6/107, 110, juice, sap (*Georgics*, iv. 267)
schaifling, 13/322, shaveling, tonsured man
schore, 17/440, threatening
schrinkars, 5/74, shrinkers
schute, 19/531, shoot, thrust
seir, 37/2, several, various
sen, 3/14, since; 13/330, that
Sennacherib, 17/440
sensyne, 12/286, since
sings, 36/121, signs
sosserie, 27/33, sorcery
souch, 17/460, sow, 26/9
sperit, 12/289, asked
sperks, 16/408, spots, portions
spye, 19/530, perceive
stanche, 34/75, stop
steuin, 23/646, voice
stint, 39/2, stop
subieckit with, 14/341, subjected to, subdued by
syse, 22/625, sithes, times

temporesars, 5/73, temporizers
tha, 5/51, they
Thesaure, 24/693, treasure
thir, 5/56 (*pron.*), these
this, 9/205, 10/219, 29/85, thus
thole, 7/136, suffer; tholit, 8/159
til, 1/2, to
tinsall, 5/78, loss
trade, 32/5, *not* (says Mr Murray) 'treading, path, course, life,' but 'conduct (still used in this sense), trade, business, as Fr. *affaire*, to-do, doings, conduct, operations
treatis, 28/59, treat, entertain

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trumpouris, 28/59, deceivers
tryis, 8/175, for 'cries'
tykis, 9/203, dogs
tyne, 20/533, be lost, perish

uaill, 8/172, vale
Vangell, 24/671, evangel, gospel
Uicar, 14/352, Vicar
vomatiue, 9/203, vomit
vptake, 8/155, take up
Usure, 28/50, usury

war, 26/1, worse
wardlie, 8/158, worldly
waykling, 16/414, weakling
Weked, wekit, 9/183, &c.; 32/3, 7, &c., wicked
wicht, 17/446, wight, creature
widderit, 6/98, withered
will God, 3/20, if God will, God willing, *Deo volente*
wine, 16/395, vine
wint, 22/615, wont
works and words to agree, 23/638
worth, 25/712, be to
wraith, 8/176, wrath
wrak, 8/176, take vengeance on
wrangus, 20/559, wrongful, wrongly-gotten
wys, 11/261, wish
wyte, 20/546, blame

ȝairne, 22/627, yearn for, desire

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OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.

EDITED, WITH

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In printing the complete text of the 15th-century "Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune," with lengthy illustrations from the prophetic literature of that and the following century, it seemed desirable to give in the Introduction a summary of all that History, Legend, and Tradition have to tell of Thomas and his alleged sayings. Since the subject was taken up by Mr (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, it has been touched upon by numerous writers, who have pointed out additional historic references, discussed the authenticity of the works attributed to the Rhymer, or contributed to the Folk-lore of the question by collecting rhymes and traditions associated with his name. The present Editor begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to all these his predecessors, of whose writings he has made free use. At the same time no statement has been taken at second hand which was capable of verification by original reference. In particular, all the documentary evidence has been examined afresh, and the quotations from MSS. verified, leading in some cases to the correction of important errors, which have passed current from writer to writer for seventy years. The inferences which the Editor has drawn from these data, and the theories which he has founded upon them, are of course his own; as is the view which he has taken of the origin and development of the prophetic literature generally. He has also given an independent investigation to the scenery and *locale* of the Romance, in which he has been zealously assisted by the local researches of his friends, Mr Andrew Currie of Darnick, the well-known Sculptor and Border Antiquary, and T. B. Gray, Esq., late of Hawkslie, who has had the good fortune to seize and fix an almost obliterated local tradition of the site of "Huntlee Bankis." The Editor has also to acknowledge the valued kindness and help of Henry Bradshaw, Esq., of the University Library, Cambridge, both during a visit to that Library in 1874, and on numerous occasions since; of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A., for the kindness with which he made several searches among the MSS. in the Bodleian; and of the Rev. Dr Bennett, Chancellor of Lincoln, for his arrangements to facilitate the Editor's access to the Thornton MS. in 1874.

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Acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. W. W. Skeat, for many a timely service, to James Tait, Esq., of the *Kelso Chronicle*, and Charles Wilson, Esq., of Rhymer's Lands, Earlstoun, for investigation of local matters; and to the Rev. Dr R. Morris, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., and David Laing, Esq., LL.D., for assistance on special points.

The following works touch in one way or another on Thomas and his prophecies:

Lord Hailes (David Dalrymple). Remarks on the History of Scotland. Edin., 1773.
John Pinkerton. Ancient Scottish Poems never before in print. London, 1786.
Sir Walter Scott. The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. 1st Edition. Kelso, 1802. (Reprinted, London, 1869.)
Sir Walter Scott. The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. 5th Edition, 3 vols. Edin., 1821.
Sir Walter Scott. Sir Tristrem, a metrical Romance of the 13th century. 2nd Ed. Edin., 1806.
Robert Jamieson, F.A.S. Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and scarce editions. Edin., 1806.
David Laing, LL.D. Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland. Edin., 1822.
Thomas Warton, D.D. The History of English Poetry. (Edited by R. Price, with the additional Notes of Ritson, Ashby, Douce, and Park.) London, 1840.
History of the Berwickshire Naturalist's Club. Part for 1837 contains "The Popular Rhythmes of Berwickshire," by Mr Henderson; Part for 1866 contains "Earlston," by James Tait, Esq.
J. O. Halliwell, Esq. Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." The Shakespeare Society. London, 1845.
Robert Chambers, LL.D. The Popular Rhymes of Scotland. 3rd Edition. Edin., 1858. New Edition, much enlarged; London, 1870.
David Irving, LL.D. History of Scotish Poetry. Edin., 1861.
Professor F. J. Child. English and Scottish Ballads. London, 1861.

After research has done its utmost, the facts as to Thomas are still few and scanty. When we have summed them all up, we can appropriately adapt the words of the minstrel who first told his tale, and like him conclude:

"Of 'man or woman yet' walde I here,
That couthe mare telle of swilke ferly!
Ihesu, coroúnde with crowne of brere,
Thow brynge us to thy heuene on hye!
Amen."

Mill Hill School, Nov. 1875.

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1. THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE, commonly known as the Rhymer, occupies a more important place in the legendary history of Scotland than in the authentic annals, though the few notices of him which occur in the latter are sufficient to prove his personality and to fix the age in which he lived. The name of *Thomas Rymor de Ercildune* occurs along with Oliver, Abbot of Dryburgh; Willelm de Burudim; Hugh de Peresby, Viscount of Rokysburgh; and Will. de Hattely, as witnessing a deed whereby Petrus de Haga de Bemersyde (on the Tweed) binds himself and his heirs to pay half a stone of wax (*dimidiam petram cere*) annually to the Abbot and convent of Melrose, for the chapel of Saint Cuthbert at Old Melros.[1] This

[1] The following copy of Petrus de Haga's Charter is taken from the Cartulary of Melrose MS. Harl. No. 3960, leaf 109 a. It is also printed in the *Liber de Melros* (Bannatyne Club).

Carta Petre de Haga de dimidia petra Cere.

Omnibus hoc scriptum uisuris uel audituris. Petrus de Haga dominus de Bemerside, salutem in domino. Nouceritis vniuersi. quod cum olim conuenissem cum viris religiosis Abbate et Conuentu de Melros pro quibusdam transgressionibus eisdem per me & meos illatis. quod eisdem singulis annis ego & heredes mei decem salmones quinque videlicet recentes. & quinque veteres in perpetuum soluerimus; Tandem ijdem religiosi pietate ducti perpenderunt

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document has no date, but the grantor, Petrus de Haga, is himself witness to another charter, by which Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland (from 1162 to 1189), granted certain serfs to Henry St Clair. It thus defines Thomas's age to the extent of showing that he was a contemporary—a junior one doubtless—of one who was himself at least old enough to witness a document in 1189. In the year 1294 (November 2nd), *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun*, conveyed by charter, to the Trinity House of Soltra, all the lands which he held by inheritance in the village of Ercildoun.[1]

hoc esse in exheredacionem mei & heredum meorum. mediantibus viris bonis consenciente & concedente Johanne filio & herede meo cum dictis Abbate et Conuentu taliter conueni. scilicet quod ego et heredes [mei] tenemur & presenti scripto in perpetuum obligamur ipsis Abbati & Conuentui soluere singulis annis dimidiam petram Cere bone & pacabilis ad Capellam sancti Cuthberti. de veteri Melros die beati Cuthberti. in quadragesima uel triginta denarios. sub pena triginta denariorum singulis mensibus soluendorum ad luminare dicte Capelle. quibus in solucione dicte Cere aut triginta denariorum predictorum fuerit cessatum post diem & terminum memoratos. Subiciendo me & heredes meos Iurrisdiccioni & potestati domini Episcopi sancti Andree. qui pro tempore fuerit. ut me & heredes meos per censuram ecclesiasticam qualemcumque possit compellere ad solucionem dicte Cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum vna cum pena si committatur. Renunciando pro me & heredibus meis in hoc facto omni accioni defencioni & accepcioni. & omni legum auxilio canonici. & civilis. beneficio restitucionis in integrum. & omnibus aliis que michi & heredibus meis prodesse potuerunt in hoc facto & dictis Abbati & Conuentui obesse. quo minus solucio fieri valeat dicte cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum. una cum pena si committatur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum. vna cum sigillo domini Oliueri tunc Abbatis de Driburgh est appensum. Testibus domino Oliuero Abbate de Driburgh domino Willelmo de Burudim. milite Hugone de Perisby tunc vicecomite de Rokysburgh Willelmo de Hatteley Thome Rymor de Ercildune & aliis.

[1] The following is a transcript of Thomas de Ercildoun's Charter, from the Cartulary of the Trinity House of Soltra, Advocate's Library, W. 4. 14 :—

Ersylton

Omnibus has literas visuris vel audituris Thomas de Ercildoun filius *et* heres Thome Rymour de Ercildoun, Salutem in domino. Noueritis me per fustum & baculum in pleno iudicio resignasse ac per presentes quietum clamasse pro me & heredibus meis Magistro domus Sancte trinitatis de Soltre, & fratribus eiusdem domus totam terram meam cum omnibus pertinentis suis quam in tenemento de Ercildoun hereditarie tenui Renunciando de cetero pro me *et* heredibus meis omni iuri & clameo que ego seu antecessores mei in eadem terra alioque tempore de preterito habuimus siue de futuro habere poterimus. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum meum apposui Data apud Ercildoun die Martis proximo post festum Sanctorum apostolorum Symonis & Iude Anno Domini millesimo et nonogesimo quarto.

Although this document has been printed half-a-dozen times, and its date quoted twenty times at least, the latter has been given by every editor as 1299, and in the *Border Minstrelsy* it is actually printed *nonagesimo nono*, which looks like an attempt to evade the chronological difficulty it offers. Mr Skeat kindly points out that the Sunday letter for 1294 was C, and Easter the 18th April, so that St Simon's and St Jude's, the 28 Oct. (the old day for electing mayors, &c., advanced by New Style to 9th Nov.) fell on Thursday, and the next Tuesday after (die Martis proximo post) was 2nd November.

"The superiority of the property called 'Rhymer's Lands,' now owned by Mr Charles Wilson, Earlstoun, still belongs to the Trinity College Church in Edinburgh. It would almost appear as if Thomas had held his lands not direct from the Crown, but from the Earls of Dunbar; for his name does not appear in any State document of that period. Nor does it appear that

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Contemporary documents thus fix Rymour's existence between the end of the twelfth and end of the thirteenth century; and, as will be seen in the sequel, he is further historically identified, on sufficient, though not contemporary, evidence, with the latter part of this period, by his connexion with events in the year 1286, and (though less authentically) 1296. From 1189 to 1296 is, of course, more than a century; but, as has been shown by Sir Walter Scott, these dates involve no difficulty, for supposing De Moreville's charter to have been granted towards the end of his career in 1189, and De Haga to have been then about 20, the grant of the latter was probably not made before the end of his life, say between 1230 and 1240. If Erceldoune was about 20 when he witnessed this, it would fix his birth somewhere between 1210 and 1220, so that he would be between 66 and 76 in 1286, and may, so far as this is concerned, have outlived the latter date by several years. The *prima facie* purport of the charter of 1294 is that Thomas is already dead, and his son in possession of the paternal property, which he in his turn gives away. Considerations at variance with this inference will be noticed further on.

2. Of his family, or how much was actually implied by his surname, *de Erceldoun*, we know nothing. The latter was, however, evidently derived from the village of Ercheldun, Erceldoune, Ersyltoun, in Berwickshire, on the banks of the Leader, a northern tributary of the Tweed, from which, in still earlier times, there had emerged a shepherd boy, destined to become the apostle of his native Northumbria, St Cuthbert. Ercheldoun, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, seems to have been a place of considerable importance, and is connected both with the family of Lindesey, and the Earls of March. A *Carta Wilhelmi Linseia, de Ecclesia de Ercheldoun* to the priory of Coldingham, dating to the reign of David I. or Malcolm the Maiden (1124—1163) is preserved in the Durham archives, and a *Carta W. de Lindessi de Fauope iuxta Ledre*, ante 1165, to the monks of Melros, is also in existence, witnessed among others by Arosine de lindeseia, Swano de Ercedun, and Cospatricio de Ercedun. The Lindesey family do not appear ever to take the surname de Erceldoun, which is borne by that of Cospatric, Earl of March (called often, from his chief residence, Earl of Dunbar). The Earls of March are said to have had a castle at the east end of the village, which was probably the scene of the royal visits in the reign of David I., when various documents, including the Foundation Charter

the lands were of large extent, for through old deeds the dimensions of the lands can be observed unaltered for the last three centuries back at least."—*James Tait, Esq., in 'History of Berwickshire Nat. Club,'* vol. v. p. 264. The actual area of *Rhymer's Lands*, as I learn by letter from Mr Wilson, is only 9½ acres, and no other land in Earlstoun or its neighbourhood owns the superiority of Trinity College Church.

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of Melrose Abbey in June 1136, and its confirmation by his son Prince Henry in 1143, were subscribed *apud Ercheldon.*

Whether Thomas de Erceldoune was related to the family of March, as might perhaps be assumed from the way in which his name appears more than once in connexion with the Earl and Countess of that house, or whether his relations with them were those of a vassal, or of a neighbour merely, cannot be ascertained. Of a tower, traditionally pointed out as his, the ruins still exist at the west end of the village, though the family connexion with it must have ceased in 1294, when, as already stated, the patrimonial estate in Erceldoune was conveyed to the religious establishment at Soltra. The Earl's Tower at the other end of the village continued to be an important fortress, and, according to popular belief, to it is due the corruption of the old name of Ercheldoun or Ersyltoun, to the modern spelling of *Earlstoun*, which railway and postal authorities contract to *Earlston.*[1]

Thomas is not known to any of the older authorities by any surname save his territorial one of *Erceldoune*, or that of *Rymour*, derived, it is generally supposed, from his poetic or prophetic avocations; "though even this is uncertain, for Rymour was a Berwickshire name in those days, one John Rymour, a freeholder, having done

[1] My friend, Andrew Currie, Esq., of Darnick, to whom I am indebted for much local information as to the Rhymer, and who is himself, I believe, a native of Earlstoun, considers that Erceldoun, or Ersyltoun, has not been altered into Earlstoun, but supplanted by it. He thinks that the original village of Ercildoune is represented by the hamlet of thatched houses at the west, on the road to Lauder, and immediately to the north of Rhymour's Tower, and that the hamlet which rose nearly a mile to the east round the Earl's Tower, was distinguished as the Earl's Town; and this having in process of time become the main village, and absorbed the more ancient Ercildoune, gave its name to the whole. But Erceldoune was originally the general name, as the Earl was *Cospatric de Erceldun*, so that the "Earl's Town," if it existed, would be the "Earls-town at *or* in Erceldoun." *Rhymer's Lands*, beside the ruins of Thomas's Tower, also contained an ancient water-mill, of which Mr Currie says: "Rhymer's Mill was renewed by me in 1843. The old one had a stone in the gable with the words in antique letters, Rhymer Mill; I think this stone was replaced in the new mill above the water-wheel. The site of the Earl's Tower, a much more extensive structure than Rhymour's Tower, is now occupied by the Gasworks. I remember seeing hewn pavement, &c., turned up on the spot some forty years ago, besides large chiselled blocks, which had been part of the original walls and foundations. A little to the west of this, and by the burn-side, is a knowe or moraine, which still bears the name of *the Hawk's Kaim*, and is traditionally remembered as the site of the Falconry of the Earls of Dunbar. A long level strip of ground between it and the burn is still called *The Butts*, and said to have been the archery practice ground. Of Rhymer's Tower, the decay has proceeded rapidly within my memory; about 1830, the fireplace was still entire, with massive red stone lintel and corbels from the free stone of the Black Hill behind Cowdenknowes. A curious discovery was made, when clearing out the brushwood of this old quarry, of a corbel nearly finished, identical in pattern and size with those remaining in Rhymer's Tower. This is now preserved at Cowdenknowes. There is no male inhabitant of Earlstoun now claiming descent from the Rhymer, since the death of the last of the Learmonts, an old bachelor, Robert by name, and a weaver by trade, from whom I learned many traditions of Ercildoun, some 35 years ago." (See some additional particulars at end of the *Notes.*)

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homage to Edward I. in 1296." The inscription on the front wall of the church at Earlstoun, which marks the traditional place of his sepulture,

"Auld Rymer's race
Lies in this place,"

seems to point to Rymour as the name of the family.[1] But Hector Boece or Boyce (1527) gives him the surname of Leirmont;[2] and Nisbet, the Herald, in a work written 1702, styles him Sir Thomas Learmont of Earlstoun in the Merss, in which he is followed by later writers; and, according to Sir Walter Scott in 1804, "an unvarying tradition corresponds to their assertion." A tradition of the eighteenth century, however, corresponding to a statement which has passed current in books since the sixteenth, has no independent value; and as Nisbet quotes as evidence for Thomas's surname "charters of an earlier date" which no one has ever seen, we may dismiss the subject with a mere mention of the hypotheses suggested by David Macpherson and others to account for Boyce's and Nisbet's nomenclature, such as "that Thomas, or his predecessor, had married an heiress of the name of Learmont, and occasioned this error," or that "some family of that name may have traced their descent from him by the female side." For us, it will be sufficient to know him as he was known to Barbour, Fordun, and Robert of Brunne, as Thomas of Erceldoune, otherwise Thomas Rymour.

3. The incident by which he is associated with the year 1286 is his so-called prediction of the calamitous death of Alexander III.; the earliest notice of which is found in the Scotichronicon of John of Fordun, or rather his continuator Walter Bower (born 1385, wrote about 1430). According to this account, on the night before the king was killed, by being thrown over the precipice at Kinghorn; "Thomas of Erseldon, visiting the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl of March, in the jocular manner which he was wont to assume with the Rymour,

[1] Mr Tait, in the Berwickshire Nat. Transact. already quoted, says, "Tradition says the stone was transferred from the old church, which stood some yards distant from the present edifice. In 1782 the ancient inscription was defaced by some senseless fellow in a drunken frolic, but the clergyman compelled him to replace it in the same words as before. The defaced characters were very ancient, the present are quite modern, and the spelling also is modernised. The right of sepulture is still claimed there by persons named *Learmont*, an indication that if Thomas did not bear that surname, it was adopted by his descendants," [or some who claimed to represent him]. "The church itself," says Mr Currie, "may not be more than 150 years old. It stands on the site of an older one which was a vicarage of Coldinghame. In the east gable is built a red stone bearing a dagger-shaped cross, the well-known symbol of the Knights Templars. (See additional particulars at end of the *Notes*.)

[2] *Boece* lib. xiii. f. 291 a (Parisiis, 1575). Tradunt scriptores pridie quàm Alexander fate functus esset, comitem merchiarum percunctatum sub noctem insignem quendam vatem ac praedicendi arte haud saepe fallentem, Thomas Leirmont nomine, vtrùm aliquid in posterum diem noui euenturum esset.

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what another day was to bring forth. Thomas, fetching a heavy sigh from the bottom of his heart, is said to have expressed himself to this effect: 'Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement that it shall exceed all those that have yet been heard in Scotland: a blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall confound those who hear it, shall humble what is lofty, and what is unbending shall level to the ground.' In consequence of this alarming prediction, the Earl and his attendants were induced to observe the state of the atmosphere next day; but having watched till the ninth hour without discovering any unusual appearance, they began to deride Thomas as a driveller. The Earl, however, had scarcely sat down to dinner, and the hand of the dial pointed the hour of noon, when a messenger arrived at the gate and importunately demanded admission; they now found that the prediction was fatally verified; for this messenger came to announce the intelligence of the king's death."[1] Bower's story is repeated by Mair (Joannes Major Scotus), and Hector Boece (Boethius) (see note 2, p. xiii), the former adding, "To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions, and the common people of Britain yield no slight degree of credit to stories of this nature; which I for the most part am wont to treat with ridicule." Bellenden also, in his vernacular version of Boece, tells the story in more moderate language than Fordun:

"It is said ye day afore ye kingis deith, the Erle of Merche demandit ane propheit namit Thomas Rimour, otherwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat weddir suld be

[1] "Annon recordaris quod ille vates ruralis, Thomas videlicet de Erseldon, nocte praecedenti mortem regis Alexandri, in castro de Dunbar, obscure prophetando, de occasu ejus dixerat comiti Marchiarum interroganti ab eo, ut solitus quasi jocando, quid altera dies futura novi esset paritura? Qui Thomas attrahens de imo cordis singultuosum suspirium, sic fertur comiti coram aulicis palam protulisse: 'Heu diei crastinæ! diei calamitatis et miseriæ! quà ante horam explicite duodecimam audietur tam vehemens ventus in Scotia, quod a magnis retroactis temporibus consimilis minime inveniebatur. Cujus quidem flatus obstupescere faciet gentes, stupidos reddet audientes, excelsa humiliabit, et rigida solo complanabit.' Propter cujus seria affamina comes cum aulicis crastinum observantes, et horas diei usque ad nonam considerantes, et nullum vestigium in nubibus vel signis ventosis cœli auspicantes, Thomam tanquam insensatam reputantes, ad prandium properarunt. Ubi dum comiti vix mensæ collocato, et signo horologii ad meredianam horam fere approximato, affuit quidam ad portam, importunis pulsibus aures comitis concutiens, aditum sibi ocius fieri flagitavit. Intromissus igitur advena, et de novis impetitus, 'Nova,' inquit, 'habeo, sed nosciva, toto regno Scotiæ defienda, quia inclitus, heu! rex ejus finem præsentis vitæ hesterna nocte apud Kingorn sortitus est, et hæc veni nunciare tibi.' Ad hanc narrationem, quasi de gravi somno excitatus, comes una cum familiaribus tutuderunt pectora, et dicti Thomæ experti sunt credibilia nimis facta fore vaticinia." Bower, Scotichronicon, lib. x. c. 43. "The local tradition," according to Mr Currie, "has it that the prophecy was delivered in the Earl of Dunbar's castle at Erceldoune, the royal herald announcing his arrival by a bugle blast from the Corse-Hill Head, on the Huntshaw road, to the north of the village. The spot is still called, if my memory serves me right, The Trumpet or Bugle Knowe."

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on ye morrow. To quhome answerit this Thomas, that on the morrow afore noun, sall blaw the greatest wynd that euir was herd afore in Scotland. On ye morrow, quhen it wes neir noun, ye lift appering loune but ony din or tempest, ye Erle sent for this propheit and repreuit hym that he pronosticat sic wynd to be and na apperance yairof. Yis Thomas maid litel answer, bot said, noun is not ȝit gane. And incontinent ane man come to the ȝet schawing y^{t} the king was slain. Yan said ye propheit, Zone is the wynd yat sall blaw to ye gret calamite and trouble of all Scotland. Yis Thomas was ane man of gret admiration to the people, and schew sindry thingis as they fell. Howbeit yai wer ay hyd vnder obscure wourdis."

Divested of the grandiloquence of its monkish chroniclers, "the story," says Sir Walter Scott, "would run simply that Thomas presaged to the Earl of March that the next day would be windy—the weather proved calm, but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet. It is worthy of notice that the rhymes vulgarly ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune are founded apparently on meteorological observation. And doubtless before the invention of barometers, a weather-wise prophet might be an important personage."

Whatever the foundation of the story, and however explained, it may be taken, at least in conjunction with the documentary evidence already given, as showing that Thomas was alive in 1286. According to Harry the Minstrel he survived also to 1296, when he was identified with a critical passage in the life of Wallace.

Towards the beginning of that hero's career, as reported by his minstrel biographer, he was seized in the town of Ayr, by the soldiers of the English garrison under Lord Percy, whose steward, amongst several others, Wallace had slain in a market brawl. While lying in prison awaiting his trial, the rigour of his treatment and filthiness of his dungeon brought on dysentery, under which he sank, and was found by the jailor apparently dead. His body was cast over the walls upon a "draff myddyn," whence it was begged by an old nurse, who desired to do the last rites to the corpse. While washing the body, however, she noticed faint signs of animation, and by dint of careful nursing, secretly restored him to life and health, while observing all the outward show of mourning for his death.

thomas Rimour in to *th*e faile[1] was *th*an,
With *th*e mynyst*ir*, quhilk was a worthi man:
He wsyt offt to *th*at religiouss place.
The peple demyt of witt mekill he can;
And so he told, *th*ocht at *th*ai bliss or ban,
Quhilk hapnyt suth in many diuerss cace,

[1] The *Faile* or *Feale*, a priory of the Cluniacenses in the neighbourhood of Ayr, which was still flourishing in the sixteenth century.

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I can nocht say, be wrang or rycȟtwisnas,
In rewlle of wer, quhethir thai tynt or wan;
It may be demyt be diuisioun of grace.
Thar man that day had in the merket bene,
On Wallace knew this cairfull cass so kene.
His master speryt, quhat tithingis at he saw.
This man ansuerd; "of litill hard I meyn."
The mynister said; 'It has bene seildyn seyn,
quhar scottis and Ingliss semblit bene on Raw,
Was neuir 3it, als fer as we coud knaw,
Bot other a scot wald do a sothroun teyn,
Or he till him, for awentur mycht faw.'
"Wallace," he said, "3e wist tayne in that steid;
Out our the wall I saw thaim cast him deide,
In presoune famys[i]t for fawt of fude."
The mynister said with hart hewy as leid,
'Sic deid to thaim, me think, suld foster feid;
For he was wicht and cummyn of gentill blud.'
Thomas ansuerd "thir tythingis ar noucht gud;
And that be suth, my self sall neuir eit breid,
For all my witt her schortlye I conclud.
'a woman syne of the Newtoun of Ayr,
Till him scho went fra he was fallyn ther;
And on her kneis rycht lawly thaim besocht,
To purchess leiff scho mycht thin with him fayr.
In lychtlyness tyll hyr thai grant to fayr.
Our the wattyr on till hir houss him brocht,
To berys him als gudlye as scho mocht.'
3hit thomas said "Than sall I leiff na mar,
Gyff that be trew, be-god, that all has wrocht."
the mynister herd quhat thomas said in playne.
He chargyt him than "go speid the fast agayne
To that sammyn houss and werraly aspye."
The man went furth, at byddyng was full bayne;
To the new town to pass he did his payn,
To that ilk houss; and went in sodanlye,
About he blent on to the burd him bye.
This woman raiss, in hart scho was [nocht] fayn.
quha aw this lik, he bad hir nocht deny.
"wallace," scho said, "that full worthy has beyne,"
Thus wepyt scho, that pete was to seyne.
The man thar to gret credens gaif he nocht:
Towart the burd he bowned as he war teyne.
On kneis scho felle, and cryit: 'For marye scheyne,
Lat sklandyr be, and flemyt out of 3our thocht.'
This man hir suour "be him that all has wrocht,
Mycht I on lyff him anys se with myn eyn,
He suld be saiff, thocht Ingland had him socht."
scho had him wp to Wallace be the dess;
He spak with him; syne fast agayne can press
With glaid bodword, thar myrthis till amend.
He told to thaim the first tithingis was less.
Than thomas said: "forsuth, or he decess,
Mony thousand in feild sall mak thar end.
Off this regioune he sall the sothroun send;
And scotland thriss he sall bryng to the pess:
So gud off hand agayne sall neuir be kend."

This incident, if authentic, could not have taken place before 1296 or 1297; and it is at once evident that it conflicts with the idea that Thomas was already dead in 1294, when *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun* devised the paternal estates. It is easy, of course, to say that, the charter being undoubted, Harry's story must be set aside as a mere fable. But I am not disposed to treat the Minstrel's circumstantial narrative quite so lightly; and I would suggest that it is not impossible that Thomas, wearied and dispirited with the calamities under which his country was sinking, may before his death have transferred his estates, and retired to end his days in the priory of the Faile. If Harry is to be trusted in saying that Thomas "usyt offt to that religiouſ place," we may even have a key to those temporary disappearances from his home, which popular superstition accounted for by visits to Fairyland; and a final retirement while still alive may

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really be the fact concealed under the legend of his sudden disappearance from the world. Then, are we correct in assuming that the charter in question is granted by Thomas's son, and not by Thomas himself? If Rymour was the family surname, the latter is not impossible. It is at least a pleasing fancy to picture Thomas, the last mayhap of his line, after setting his house in order and disposing of his worldly goods, retiring from earthly cares and pursuits, and leaving his neighbours to marvel at his departure, and attribute it to the powers of another world, who could spare him to "middle-erd" no longer. Many a myth has gone farther astray from its simple basis. Patrick Gordon, in his rhymed History of Robert Bruce (Dort, 1615), says Rymour survived to 1307; but as he gives us no authority for the statement, his evidence is of very doubtful value.

4. Such are the only notices which refer, or purport to refer, to Thomas in his lifetime. They seem to point to him as a man of sagacity and foresight, who, veiling his observations "under obscure wourdis," had already before his death attained to the repute of something like prophetic power. As a patriot, and one who had lived during the palmy days of the old Scottish monarchy before

> Alysandyr owre kyng wes dede
> That Scotlande led in luve and le,

he must have keenly felt the sorrows which overtook his country in his last years, and if he understood the temper of his countrymen, he may well have expressed his hope and confidence of their final triumph in tones which fell from the lips of the "old man eloquent" with all the weight of inspiration. That his reputed sayings were so quoted early in the course of the struggle, and within a few years after his own death, is abundantly evident from various references. One of these occurs in Barbour's Bruce, where, after Bruce had slain the Red Cumyn in the Grey Friars church at Dumfries in 1306, news of the event reached amongst others the patriotic Bishop of St Andrews:

> *The* lettir tauld hym all *the* deid,
> And he till his men gert it reid,
> And sythyn said *tha*im, "sekyrly
> I hop Thomas prophecy
> off hersildoune sall weryfyd be
> In him; for, swa our lord help me!
> I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
> And haif *thi*s land all in leding."

Andro of Wyntown also in his "Orygynale" (Book VIII, chap. 32), referring to the battle of Kilblane, fought by Sir Andrew Moray against the Baliol faction in 1334, says:—

> Of *thi*s fycht qwhylum spak Thomas
> of Ersyldoune, that sayd in derne,
> There suld mete stalwarthe,[1] stark, and sterne.
> He sayd it in his prophecy;
> But how he wist it was ferly.

[1 MS. stalwartly]

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At a still earlier period the prophetic renown of Thomas is alluded to by the author of the *Scalacronica*, a French chronicle of English History, compiled by Sir Thomas Grey, constable of Norham, during his captivity in Edinburgh Castle in 1355. One of the *Notabilia*, extracted by Leyland from the unpublished part of this chronicle, is headed: "William Banestre and Thomas Erceldoune, whose words were spoken in figure, as were the prophecies of Merlin."[1]

Most of these writers, however, lived a century after Thomas, and it might of course be, that their references to the notoriety of his prophetic powers represented rather the current opinion of their own age than of that of which they wrote; that Barbour, for example, in making Bishop Lamberton quote "Thomas' prophecy," described what he was very likely to do himself, though he might have no ground either in tradition or history for imputing it to the Bishop of St Andrews But this is sufficiently met by the fact that a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century not only credits Thomas with oracular powers, but preserves what purports to be one of his prophecies, in the following form (*MS. Harl.* 2253, *lf* 127, *col.* 2):

La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoune q*uant* la guere descoce prendreit fyn. e yl la repoundy e dyt,

When man as mad akyng of a capped man;
When mon is leuere oþermones þyng þen is owen;
When londyonys forest, ant forest ys felde;[2]
When hares kendles oþe herston;
When Wyt & Wille werres togedere;
When mon makes stables of kyrkes, and steles castles wyþ styes;
When rokesbourh nys no burgh[3] ant market is at Forwyleye;

[1] The Rev. W. W. Skeat has been so kind as to find the original of Leyland's extract in the manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge (No. 133, leaf 60, back). He says: "It is a long paragraph, in which the name of 'Merlyns' occurs repeatedly; some remarks at the end imply that he spoke so much 'en figure' as to render the interpretation of his meaning very doubtful. It is remarked that much is said about boars, dragons, bears, eagles, lions, asses, moles, trees, and brooks; and that the object seems to have been to make the prophecies obscure—'ne purra estre determyne en certayne, si fussent, en le hour de lescriuer de cest cronicle, passe ou auenir. pusq*ue* taun*te*s des Roys sount passez. tanc*om* durerent les Regnes des .vij. reaulmes Saxsouns. en queux la *gr*an*t* bretaigne estoit deuise. et dez autres puscedy Engles & Norma*n*des. pur quoy ne agreast a le deuisour de cest cronicle plus dez p*ar*olis de Merlyne de soy entremettre. ne dez autres queux hom disoit en le houre p*re*destino*ur*s. co*m* de Willam Banastre. ou de Tho*m*as de Erceldoun. les parolis de queux furount dit*z* en fig*ur*e. od diuers entendeme*n*t*z* apte*z* a lestimacio*un* de les comento*ur*s. q*ue* en cas p*ur*roint desacorder.'"

[2] The letters þ and *y* are in the MS. only distinguished by the *y* having a dot, which is often omitted; *n* and *u* also are indistinguishable; *londyonys* or *loudyonys* may be *London is* or *Loudyon*, i. e. "*Lothian* is forest, and forest is field." *Forest* may refer to the old name of Selkirkshire, or Etterick *Forest*.

[3] Roxburgh, the ancient county town of Roxburghshire, and one of the "four great burghs" of Scotland, the remains of whose castle still crown the promontory between the Tweed and Teviot at their confluence, has been "no burgh" since 1547, and not a stone of the once great town now remains *in situ*.

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When þe alde is gan ant þe newe is come þ^{t} don (*or* dou) noþt
When bambourne is donged Wyþ dedemen;
When men ledes men in ropes to buyen & to sellen;
When a q*uar*ter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten mark*es*;
When prude p*ri*kes & pees is leyd in p*ri*soun;
When a scot ne may hym hude ase hare in forme þ^{t} þe englysshe ne sal hym fynde;
When ryþt ant Wrong ascenteþ to gedere;
When laddes weddeþ louedis;
When scottes flen so faste, þ^{t} for faute of ship, hy drowneþ hem selue
Whenne shal þis be? Nouþer in þine tyme ne in myne;
ah comen & gon wiþ inne twenty wynter ant on.

This is in a southern (or south-midland) dialect, and doubtless by an English author. The effect of it seems to be that many improbabilities will happen, and in especial that many calamities will happen to Scotland, before the war with that country shall end, which shall not be in the time of either Thomas or his interrogator, but within twenty-one years after. (See further at end of the *Notes*.)

Mr Pinkerton, who first printed the lines in the "List of the Scotish Poets," prefixed to his "Ancient Scotish poems never before in print" (London, 1786, Vol. I, p. lxxviij), and Sir Walter Scott, who quoted it from Pinkerton (very inaccurately, and with loss of one line), in the "Border Minstrelsy," assume that the *Countesse de Donbar* is the heroic Black Agnes, daughter of Randolph, so celebrated for her defence of Dunbar Castle in 1337, and also referred to in the following poem. But as Mr Bond says the MS. is undoubtedly before 1320, this is not possible; and by the Countess is no doubt meant the wife of the Earl to whom Thomas predicted the death of Alexander III, and with whom, as already said, he seems to have been a familiar visitor. *Bambourne* is evidently Bannockburn, and the reference to its being "donged with dede men," leads one to infer that the prediction was composed *after*, or or least on the eve of that battle, in 1314. But there was no time between that battle and 1320, or even Bruce's death in 1329, when a prophecy that "the Scots should hide as hare in form," would suit events or even distant probabilities; and I am inclined therefore to suppose that it was actually composed on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn, and circulated under Thomas's name, in order to discourage the Scots and encourage the English in the battle. It is well known that Edward II felt so sure of gaining that battle, and finishing the war at a blow, that he held a council in the camp on the previous day, and drew up statutes and ordinances for the disposal of Scotland and its inhabitants, which were found in the English camp after his defeat. Counting back from 1314, "twenty wynter ant on" would bring us to 1293, when Thomas was, as we have seen, still alive.

That prophecy formed an important weapon on both sides during the wars

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between England and Scotland appears from many sources, and a passage in Higden's Polychronicon (as translated by Trevisa) referring to this very period says:

"The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thyrty yeres togyder, vnto Kyng Edwardes tyme the thyrde after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen ofte, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyd that that myshappe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, *as the prophecye said*, that Englyshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes."

The prophetic powers of Thomas of Erceldoune seem thus to have been sufficiently credited to give importance to predictions purporting to be his within the twenty years that followed his own life-time; and it is noteworthy that all these early references agree in attributing to his utterances the "derne," "obscure," and "figurative" character so well exemplified in those still preserved as his; also, that the writers who quote them agree in their doubts as to the quarter whence Thomas derived his inspiration, while making no doubt of the inspiration itself.

5. We have equally early authority for his poetical abilities. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, who was actually a contemporary of Thomas, since his "Handlyng of Synne" was written in 1303, appears in his English Chronicle, written about 1330, to celebrate him as "the author of an incomparable romance of the story of Sir Tristrem." After stating his intention of telling his Story of England in the simplest speech, and without using intricate rhymes, since he has observed that such artificial compositions, though they may exhibit their authors' talent, are most spoiled by readers, Mannyng adds as an illustration of this:

I see *in* song in sedgeyng tale
of Erceldoun & of Kendale,
Non þam says as þai þam wroght,
& *in* þer sayng it semes noght;
þat may þou here in sir Tristrem;
ouer gestes it has þe steem,
Ouer alle þat is or was,
if mene it sayd as made Thomas;
But I here it no mane so say,
þat of som copple som is away;
So þare fayre sayng here beforne
is þare *tra*uayle nere forlorne;
þai sayd it for pride & nobleye,
þat non were suylk as þei;
And alle þat þai wild ouerwhere,
Alle þat ilk wille now forfare.
þai sayd in so q*ua*nte Inglis,
þat many one wate not what it is.
þerfore [I] henyed wele þe more
In strange ryme to *tra*uayle sore;
And my witte was oure thynne
So strange speche to *tra*uayle in;
And forsoth I couth[e] noght
so strange Inglis as þai wroght.

It is not certain whether the "Thomas" here is Thomas of Erceldoun or Thomas of Kendale; nor indeed that the first four lines refer to the same subject as those that follow: Sir Tristrem may, for anything that appears, be a third example, in addition to the works of Erceldoun and Kendale, of the liability of "q*ua*nte

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Inglis" to be marred by reciters, and its author "Thomas" may not be the Erceldoun of the second line, especially as the earlier German versions of Sir Tristrem quote as their authority one Thomas von Brittanien, or Thomas of Brittany, who must have lived, whoever he was, long before Thomas of Erceldoun. On the other hand, the Romance of Sir Tristrem in the Auchinleck MS., supposed to have been transcribed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and which, though it has been altered by a Southern transcriber, is demonstrably a copy of an earlier Northern one, begins by claiming Thomas of Erceldoune as the authority for its information, in terms which have induced Sir Walter Scott and others to consider the romance as his own production:

I was at Erþeldoun[1]
Wiþ tomas spak y þare
þer herd y rede in roune
Who tristrem gat & bare
Who was king wiþ croun
& who him fosterd ȝare
& who was bold baroun
As þair elders ware
bi ȝere
tomas telles in toun
þis auentours as þai ware.

In stanzas 37-38 Thomas is mentioned, at the point where Tristrem found himself left on an unknown shore by the mariners who had carried him off from home:

þo tomas asked ay
Of tristrem trewe fere,
To wite þe riȝt way,
þe styes for to lere;
of a prince proude in play
Listneþ lordinges dere;
Who so better can say,
His owhen he may here,
As hende
of thing þat is him dere
Ich man preise at ende.
In o robe tristrem was boun,
þat he fram schippe hadde brouȝt;
Was of a blihand broun,
þe richest þat was wrouȝt;
As tomas telleþ in toun;
He no wist what he mouȝt,
Bot semly set him doun,
& ete ay til him gode þouȝt,
Ful sone
þe forest forþ he souȝt
When he so hadde done.

In Fytt III, stanza 45, the authority of "Tomas" is quoted again:

Beliagog þe bold
As a fende he fauȝt;
Tristrem liif neiȝe he sold,
As tomas haþ ous tauȝt
Tristrem smot, as god wold,
His fot of at a drauȝt;
Adoun he fel y fold,
þat man of michel mauȝt,
& cride
"Tristrem, be we sauȝt,
& haue min londes wide."

Notwithstanding that in all these passages, the author professes to have learned his tale from "Thomas," Sir Walter Scott, in editing Sir Tristrem, assumed it as

[1] This word is cut through in the MS. by some former possessor who cut out the illuminations; but the catchword at foot of preceding leaf (280) has "y was at erþeldoun" (not erseldoun), and the lower part of the word including the þ is quite clear in the folio itself. *Erþeldoun* for *Ertheldoun* may be the scribe's error for *Erceldoun* in his original.

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undoubtedly the genuine work of Erceldoune, committed to writing by some one who had learned it from him personally; and started a theory that Thomas had himself collected the materials from the Britons of Strathclyde, and that his work, being thus original in its character, was the source of the numerous versions in continental languages which quote one "Thomas" as their authority. Dr Irving, in his History of Scottish Poetry, also considered it as "not altogether absurd to suppose that he was nevertheless the real author, and had recourse to this method" [*i. e.* quoting his own name as his authority] "of recording his own claims," and so preventing reciters from claiming the romance as their own composition. But in the additions to Warton's *History of English Poetry* (editions of 1824 and 1840) it is shown that not only did the romance exist in several European languages long before the days of Erceldoune, but that the "Thomas" quoted in some of the French and German poems was the writer of one of the French versions of the story, who must have lived before 1200; that this French version was apparently the original of the English translation in the Auchinleck MS., and that while it is doubtful whether the latter be the work referred to by Robert of Brunne, it is still more doubtful whether it is the production, either directly or indirectly, of Erceldoune. Mr Garnett, in summing up his review of the subject, considers it proved, "1. That the present Sir Tristrem is a modernized [rather a *southernized*, it cannot well be a *much* more modern] copy of an old[er] Northumbrian romance, written probably between 1260 and 1300. 2. That it is not, in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source. 3. That there is no direct evidence in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverse to that supposition. It is however by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme. The minstrels of those days were great plagiarists, and seldom gave themselves the trouble of inventing subjects and incidents when they found them ready prepared to their hands." Later criticism is still more adverse to the claims of Erceldoune. Mr Wright thinks it most probable that the person who translated the Auchinleck version from the French original, finding a "Thomas" mentioned therein, and not knowing who he was, "may have taken him for the Thomas whose name was then most famous, viz. Thomas of Erceldoune, and thus put the name of the latter to his English edition." I must confess that, looking at the way in which the name and authority of Erceldoune were afterwards affixed to productions with which he had no connexion, Mr Wright's theory seems to me most probable, espe-

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cially as this English version must have been originally by a northern writer who would be well acquainted with Thomas's name, and probably wrote soon after his death, so that the southernized transcript in the Auchinleck MS. could be made before the middle of the 14th century. But the Early English Text Society has *Sir Tristrem* in its list for early reprinting, when the question of the origin and authorship of the romance will of course be fully discussed. At present we have only to note that, however the opinion was founded, Thomas of Erceldoune at least passed in popular estimation as a poet of renown within thirty years after his own death.

6. In the twofold character of poet and prophet, thus attributed to him from the earliest period, the name of Thomas of Erceldoune continued to be venerated for many centuries, and numerous compositions claiming to be his, or at least to derive their authority from or through him, are still preserved. The earliest of these is the poem printed in the following pages, the completion of which, from internal evidence, must be placed shortly after 1400, or about a hundred years after Thomas's death. It represents Thomas as meeting "a lady gaye," who is described as the Queen of a realm not in heaven, paradise, hell, purgatory, or on middel-erthe, but "another cuntre" from all these, answering to the Faërie or Fairy-land of later tales, but nowhere so called in the poem itself. Thomas makes love to her, and is transported by her power to her own country, where he dwells for three years and more. On his dismissal, necessary to prevent his seizure by a foul fiend of hell, who is coming next day for his tribute, he asks a token from the lady, and, in compliance with his repeated request to abide and tell him some ferly, she proceeds to give an outline in prophetic form of the wars between England and Scotland from the time of Bruce to that of the death of Robert III, with a mysterious continuation, which must still rank as "unfulfilled prophecy," and ending with a reference to Black Agnes of Dunbar, whose death is predicted. After an affectionate farewell, in which she promises to meet Thomas again at the same spot, the lady leaves him and takes her way to Helmsdale.

7. In regard to the professed authorship of this poem, we meet with even greater difficulty than in *Sir Tristrem*, the narrator passing from the first to the third person, and from the third to the first again, with the most sudden transition, so that it is difficult to say whether it even claims to be the work of Thomas. Thus in the first 72 lines (including the prologue), the writer describes himself as lying on Huntly banks himself alone, and seeing the lady, whose array he describes as a professed eye-witness; but in line 73 it is:

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Thomas laye & sawe that syghte
Vndir-nethe a semly tree:
He sayd, &c. &c.

Gyff it be *als the storye sayes*
He hir mette at Eldone Tree,

and so on for 200 lines, the author describing Thomas and his actions as if he himself had them only by hearsay, till in l. 273 we have again the sudden transition to the first person:

Thomas duellide in that solace
More than j ȝowe saye parde;
Till one a day, so hafe I grace,
My lufly lady sayde *to mee;*
Do buske the, Thomas, the buse agayne, &c. &c.;

but this is only a momentary interruption, for the narrator immediately speaks of Thomas again in the third person, a style which he continues to the end of the narrative. In the prophecies from l. 317 to 672 the speeches of Thomas and the lady are merely quoted without even as much as an introductory "he said" or "she said," so that nothing can be determined as to the professed narrator. The conclusion, however, ll. 673—700, is very decidedly narrative in the third person:

Scho blewe hir horne on hir palfraye,
Lefte Thomas vndir-nethe a tre;
To Helmesdale scho tuke the waye,
And thus departede scho and hee!

Of swilke an hird mane wold j here
That couth Me telle of swilke ferly.
Ihesu, corouned with a crowne of brere,
Brynge vs to his heuene So hyee!

where, even if with the Cambridge MS. we read *woman* for *hird mane*, it is clearly the wish of a third party that he had such an experience as Thomas had, and not of Thomas himself.

8. But, whoever the professed author, I have said that the poem in its present form bears evidence of being later than 1401, the date of the invasion of Scotland by Henry IV, or at least 1388, the date of the Battle of Otterbourne, the last of the historical events "hyd vnder obscure wourdis" in Fytt II. For the whole of the events described in that Fytt are really historical and easily identified, preserving, with a single important exception, the chronological order; and this part of the poem must have therefore been composed after the last of them had happened. But of the events predicted in Fytt III, after the second, which seems to refer to Henry IV's invasion of the country in 1401, I cannot make any such sense, and I prefer to consider these as real predictions or expectations of the future. Moreover, the oldest MS. of the poem, the Thornton, itself clearly not an original, dates to 1430—1440, some time before which the poem must have existed in its present form, so that we have the period between 1402 and 1440, with strong reasons in favour of the earlier date, for its completion. But portions of it may have been

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earlier even than this, for it is clearly possible that the prophecies may have been altered, added to, and interpolated, from time to time, since each incident of them is separate, and easily detachable from the context. There seems indeed to be evidence of very early treatment of this kind in Fytt II, in examining which it will be seen that the events therein "predicted" are

The failure of Baliol's party in the struggle with David Bruce	1333
the battle of Halidon Hill	1333
The battle of Falkirk	1298
the battle of Bannockburn	1314
the death of Robert Bruce	1329
the invasion and partial success of Edward Baliol, who lands at Kinghorn	1332
the battle of Dupplin and occupation of Perth . .	1332
the English withdraw to the French war . . .	1337
David Bruce fetched from France	1342
he invades England, is captured at Durham, and led to London	1346
Scotland again invaded by Baliol	1347
Scotland heavily taxed for the ransom of King David . .	1357
Robert Stewart made king	1370
Douglas invades England, and slain at Otterbourne . .	1388

Excluding the two first entries, we have here an outline of the chief events in Scotland from the Battle of Falkirk under Wallace to that of Otterbourne under Robert II, references being specially numerous to the period of the Second War of Independence under David Bruce. But the prediction of the eventual ruin of Baliol's party, and the battle of Halidon Hill—a battle "that shall be done right soon at will," come out of order and quite apart from this chronological list, as if they had no connexion with it, while they are also intimately connected with the introduction of this Fytt, and Thomas's request to the lady—

> Telle me of this gentill blode
> Wha sall thrife, and wha sall thee,
> Wha sall be kynge, wha sall be none,
> And wha sall welde this northe countre?—

a question as to the conflicting claim of the Bruce and Baliol families scarcely likely to be made after 1400, when the latter line was extinct. I am inclined to suppose, then, that this part, with perhaps Fytt I, the conclusion, and an indefinite portion of Fytt III, which is in all probability a *melange* of early traditional prophecies,

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may have been written on the eve of Halidon Hill, with a view to encourage the Scots in that battle; in which the oldest text, it will be observed, makes the Scots win with the slaughter of six thousand Englishmen, while the other texts, wise after the fact, make the Scots lose, as they actually did.

The question has been asked before, whether the "fairy tale" contained in Fytt I is not distinct from the "prophetical rhapsody" to which it serves as an introduction, and collectors of ballads have generally answered the query in the affirmative; thus Jamieson, in editing the poem in his "Popular Ballads and Songs," is of opinion that "In the introduction to the prophecies, there is so much more fancy and elegance than in the prophecies themselves, that they can hardly be supposed to be the composition of the same person. Indeed, the internal evidence to the contrary almost amounts to a proof that they are not." Professor Child, also, in his "English and Scottish Ballads" (London, 1861), vol. I, p. 95, says, "the two 'fytts' of prophecies which accompany it (the ballad) in the MSS. are omitted here, as being probably the work of another, and an inferior, hand." Although diffident of venturing an opinion at variance with that of poets and poet-editors, I can hardly think that Fytt I stands alone. Some of the prophecies may be later than others, but I think that, *as a whole*, they flow so naturally from the tale, as a response to Thomas's request for a token of his intercourse with the Lady, without any trace of patching or awkward joining, as to preclude the suspicion of having been afterwards tacked on. As to their style, they could not well, from their nature, be rendered so interesting or lively as the ballad; yet the introduction to them, as well as their conclusion and the parting of Thomas and the Queen, seem not inferior in execution to any part of Fytt I.

On the other hand, it must be granted that, artistically considered, the tale of Thomas and the Lady is far too long and minute to have been invented as a mere introduction to the prophecies, and I willingly admit that the story, perhaps even in a poetic dress, may have existed some time before it was caught up and told anew as an introduction and passport to the predictions. The reference in line 83,

> Gyff it be *als the storye sayes*,
> He hir mette at Eldone tree,

implies that there was in existence an older tale of Thomas and the Queen, which fixed the place of their meeting. If we are to suppose that part of the work as it now exists is as old as Halidon Hill, we are taken to a date little more than thirty years after Thomas's own time, a fact, so far as it goes, in favour of the idea of those who think that this older tale may have been composed by Thomas himself, and

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that the first-personal style of parts of the existing ballad may have been transferred from his narrative.

If modern editors despise the prophecies, and look upon them as a rubbishy addition to the ballad, it is very clear, that early scribes thought otherwise, and that it was to the respect which the prophecies inspired, that we owe so many MS. copies of the poem as have come down to us; we may be glad that their appreciation of the relative merits of the parts did not lead them all to do like the scribe of the Sloane MS., who omits Fytt I, and dignifies the prophecies alone with a place in his pages. In addition to this MS. four others preserve the poem more or less perfectly,, and with considerable differences, as exhibited in the following text. These MSS. and the peculiarities of their texts will be described hereafter; it is only necessary here to note that the poem appears to have been originally by a Scottish author, though all the copies of it now exist in English MSS., and that the strongly northern character of the language as preserved by Robert Thornton, who, as a northern Englishman, would leave it nearly as he found it, is more or less modified in the others, especially in the Lansdowne and Sloane, which are also comparatively late in their transcription. The various modifications introduced by southern or midland transcribers may be well seen in lines 357—372. In these repeated transcriptions also the proper names of Scottish families, and of battles, have suffered so much at the hands of scribes to whom they were devoid of meaning, as often to become quite unintelligible. The results of the battles also are often altered in the different texts, doubtless because the transcribers in many cases did not understand the application of the predictions, and perhaps patriotically changed their burden, in accordance with their own wishes or hopes.

9. I look upon the greater part of the predictions in Fytt III as in reality adaptations of legendary prophecies, traditionally preserved from far earlier times, and furbished up anew at each period of national trouble and distress in expectation of their fulfilment being at length at hand. The origin of these effusions takes us back to the period of Arthur himself, and the expiring efforts of the Britons against Saxon conquest. It is well known that the flush of enthusiasm and hope which swelled the breasts of his countrymen, during Arthur's series of victories over the pagan invaders, was too fondly cherished to be willingly renounced on his premature removal from the scene. Their hero could not be really dead, he had only withdrawn from them for a while—gone on a pilgrimage to a far-off land, retired to some desert sanctuary, or fallen asleep with his warriors in some secret cavern,—and would yet return to rule "broad Britaine to the sea" and scatter

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the Saxons to the winds of heaven.[1] "*Hic jacet Arturus, rex olim rexque futurus*" —Here lies Arthur, king of yore and king to be,—reported to have been found inscribed on his coffin at Glastonbury, represented, it is certain, the sacred belief of his people. That belief was common to all the relics of the Cymric race, from Strathclyde to Cornwall, and the shores of Armorica, and was preserved not least faithfully in that Northern land, which, according to all early authority, had witnessed alike Arthur's most splendid achievements and his death. The belief in the "kyd conqueror" yet to come must have cheered the Cumbrian Britons during the long struggle which ended in their incorporation with the Scottish monarchy, and fusion into the mingled stock which produced the later Scottish nation. Even after that fusion, and the loss of their ancient tongue, the loss even of all memory of the actual events to which these expectations and beliefs and dreams of the "good time coming" originally referred, the dreams and prophetic aspirations themselves survived, as dim mysterious legends of the future, foreboding great national crises, perils, and deliverances. Hence the legends of "a bastard in wedlock born, who should come out of the west," "a chieftain unchosen that shall choose for himself, and ride through the realm and Roy shall be called," "a chiftane stable as a stone, stedfast as the christull, firme as the adamant, true as the steele, immaculate as the sun, without all treason," whose "scutifers shal skail all the faire South, fra Dunbertane to Dover, and deil al the lands—he shall be kid conqueror, for he is kinde lord, of al Bretaine that bounds to the broad sea—" against whom in vain

> the Saxonys shall chose them a Lord
> That shall make them greatly to fall vnder.
> The ded man shall rise: and make them accord
> And this is much wonder and slight,
> That he that was dead and buried in sight
> Shall rise again and live in the land;—

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[1] A similar belief was cherished by the Britons as to Cadwaladyr, son of Cadwallawn, who, a century and a half after Arthur, "waged, in conjunction with Penda, a successful war against the Angles of Northumbria. For one year he had actually been in possession of that kingdom, and his successful career of upwards of twenty years roused the courage and hopes of the Cymry to the highest." When Cadwaladyr died in the pestilence of 664, his countrymen could not realize that he was gone; "the death was denied, and he was said to have retired to Armorica, whence the Cymry looked for him to return, and re-establish their supremacy over the Angles."—Skene: The Four Welsh Books, vol. I, p. 75. It is interesting to see that this British legend also had been preserved in the north. "The prophecy of Merlin," afterwards quoted, has

> When the Calualider of Cornwall is called
> And the Wolfe out of Wales is wencust for ay.

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who should conquer "Gyane, Gaskone, and Bretane the blyth," and

turne into Tuskane but trety or true,
And busk him ouer the mountaines on mid winter euen,
And then goe to Rome and rug downe the walles,
And ouer all the region Roy shall be holden;

who should ride with pride over England and Scotland, and overthrow all false laws, and establish righteousness, till

"bothe the londes breton shal be;"

who should finally, like a true Christian knight, die in the Holy Land—

For euerie man on molde must de—
But end he shall in the land of Christ
And in the valle of Josaphat buried shall be.

The resemblance of many of these expressions, and actual identity of many of the epithets, with those to be found in the old Northern "Morte Arthur," and other kindred works, is very notable.

10. During the wars between England and Scotland, under the three Edwards, and after, down even to the reign of Henry VIII, these scraps of old traditional prophecy were eagerly called to mind, and their dim light anxiously sought for in each successive crisis, the English, as we may suppose, dwelling specially on any passages which brought the "kyd conqueror" out of the south, or spoke of his ruling from "Cornwall to Caithness all Britain the broad," the Scots finding encouragement in the promise that he should finally extirpate the "Saxons," a name which, from its being used by their Celtic fellow-subjects as equivalent to "English" in a linguistic or ethnological sense, the Lowlanders now adopted as equivalent to "English" in the political sense. Strictly speaking, they also were "Sasunnach," or Saxon, to the Celts; but the effect of the struggle with England was to make them disclaim all "Saxon" connexion, and to use the term only of their enemies of England. Prior to the death of Alexander III, Scotland had enjoyed peace and tranquillity for many generations, and no wonder that the sudden outburst of calamity, with which the country was then assailed, stirred deeply the minds of the people, and led them to anticipate that the mighty overturnings, which were the mysterious burden of these ancient saws, were at length at hand.

Is it too much to suppose that Thomas of Erceldoune may, from his literary tastes, have been a repository of such traditional rhymes, and himself have countenanced the application of their mysterious indications to the circumstances of his country, and thus to some extent at least given currency to the idea of his own

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prophetic powers? It is certain at least that many of these ancient fragments were mixed up with the prophecies attributed to him, even as fragments of the latter were from time incorporated in, and blended with, later "prophecies" or prophetic compilations, which continued to be supplied whenever the demand arose, down to the union of the Kingdoms, and to be reverenced and consulted even as late as the Jacobite risings in the '15, and the '45. In these the name of Thomas Rymour is associated with those of Merlin, Bede, Gildas, and others; and collections of this mystic literature, such as the Sloane MS. 2578, and Lansdowne 762 in the British Museum, from which two of the following texts are printed, and Rawlinson C. 813 in the Bodleian, already existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when Sir David Lyndesay entertained the boyhood of James V with

The prophisies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng,

and the author of the "Complaynt of Scotland" in 1529 found it necessary to warn his countrymen against "diuerse prophane prophesies of merlyne, and vther ald corruptit vaticinaris, the quhilkis hes affermit in there rusty ryme, that scotland and ingland sal be vndir ane prince," to which "the inglismen gifis ferme credit." Merlin, whose name takes us back to the Arthur period itself, was evidently the oldest of these "vaticinaris," and at one time the most venerated, but in Scotland the fame of Thomas Rymour gradually outshone that of all his rivals, so that his pretended sayings were interpolated, and even his authority quoted, to give greater authority to theirs. This is well seen in a collection of these occult compositions printed in Edinburgh in 1603, and since then constantly reprinted down to the beginning of the present century, some of the contents of which must have been written as early as the reign of the Scottish James I (died 1437), while of others, MS. copies are in existence belonging to the same century.

11. The oldest printed edition yet discovered bears the following title: "The Whole prophecie of Scotland, England, and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. Anno 1603." To the goodly fellowship of Prophets here exhibited the later editions add "Also Archbishop Usher's wonderful prophecies."

As several of the pieces in this collection quote Thomas by name, and illustrate the subject of this volume, it seems desirable to give some account of them. The first piece is, like all the older ones, in alliterative verse, and begins, without any title:—

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Merling saies in his booke, who will reade right,
Althoght his sayings be vncouth, they shalbe true found
In the vij. chap. reade who so will
One thousand and more after Christes birth
When the Calualider of Cornwall is called
And the Wolfe out of Wailes is win cust for ay
Then many ferlie shall fall & many folke die.

As to the long-expected return of Calualider, or Cadwaladyr, see p. xxviii, note. This article really consists of three distinct compositions, of which the first predicts that a "Freik fostered farre in the South" shall return to the "kyth that he come from" with much wealth and worship, on whose arrival in Albanie many shall laugh; but his severity will soon give others cause to weep:

At his owne kinde bloode then shall he begin
Choose of the cheifest and chop of there heads,
Some haled on sleddes, and hanged on hie
Some put in prison & much pain shal byde.
In the month of Arrane an selcouth shal fall,
Two bloodie harts shall be taken with a false traine,
And derflie dung downe without any dome.
Ireland, Orknay, and other lands manie
For the deth of those two great dule shall make—

in which we see a description of the return of James I. from his detention in England, and his severity against the family of his uncle who had prolonged his captivity. The latter part of this passage was a century later quoted in connexion with the execution of the Regent Morton. "When that nobleman was committed to the charge of his accuser, captain James Stewart, newly created Earl of Arran, to be conducted to his trial at Edinburgh, Spottiswoode says that he asked 'Who was earl of Arran?' and being answered that Captain James was himself the man, after a short pause, he said, 'And is it so? I know then what I may look for!' meaning, as was thought that the old prophecy of the Falling of the heart (the cognizance of Morton) by the mouth of Arran should then be fulfilled. Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but some spared not, at the time when the Hamiltons were banished, in which business he was held too earnest, to say that he stood in fear of that prediction, and went that course only to disappoint it. But if it was so, he did find himself now deluded; for he fell by the mouth of another Arran than he imagined."—*Spottiswoode*, 313. In all ages, it would appear, it has been orthodox to wrest a verse of prophecy from its context and circumstances, and find a fulfilment for it in spite of these.

The second and third sections of this piece are found in a much older form in the Cambridge University Library MS., Kk. i. 5, whence they were printed for the E. E. T. S. by Rev. J. R. Lumby in 1870. (Bernardus de cura rei familiaris; with some Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. p. 18.) This MS. is late fifteenth century, but the character of the language shows it to be a copy of one belonging to the first half of that century. The order of the two divisions is here reversed, the *first* part

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of the poem in the Cambridge MS., lines 1—72 of the E. E. T. S. edition being the *third* in the edition of 1603, and following lines 73—139, which forms the second part in the Edinburgh prophecy. This second part quotes a figure found also in "Thomas of Ersseldoune," and recurring in almost all the prophecies, which thus appears in the older copy (line 103 of Mr Lumby's copy).

In his fayre forest sall ane ern bygye,
And mony on sall tyne *th*ar lyff in the mene tyme;
They sall founde to the felde, and *th*en fersly fyght,
Apone A brode mure þar sall A battell be,
Be-syde a stob crose of stane *th*at stand*is* on A mure:
It sall be coue*r*et wyth corsis all of a kyth,
That the craw sall nocht ken whar the cross standis.

Compare lines 567—576 of Thomas; both are evidently borrowed from some traditional prophecy:—

A Raven shall comme ouer the moore,
And after him a Crowe shalle flee,
To seeke the moore, without(en) rest
After a crosse is made of stane
Ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste;
Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he sall find nane.
He sall lyghte, whare the crose solde bee
And holde his nebbe vp to the skye;
And drynke of gentill blode and free;
Thane ladys waylowaye sall crye.

This section does not quote or name Thomas; it ends with a reference to the legend of "wily Vivien."

For bed*is* buke haue I seyn, & banysters[1] als;
And m*er*welus merlyn*e* is wastede away
Wyth A wyked*e* womane—woo mycht sho bee!—
Scho has closede him in a cragge of cornwales coste.

The third part is in rhyme, with much alliteration, and begins—

Qwhen the koke in the northe halows his nest,
And buskys his birdys and bunnys to flee,
T*h*an shall fortune his frende *th*e ȝatt*is* vp-caste,
And Rychte shall haue his Free entree;
Then *th*e mone shall Ryse in the northwest
In A clowde als blak as the bill of A crawe;
Then shall the lyonne be lousse, the baldest & best
That euer was in brattane sen in Arthuris daye.

It was one of the most popular prophecies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and besides forming, as already mentioned, the first half of Mr Lumby's "Ancient Scottish prophecy" from the Cambridge Kk. MS., it occurs in two of the MSS. that contain "Thomas of Erceldoune"—viz. in Lansdowne 762, fol. 65, with the title "Brydlington," and twice over in Sloane 2578 (leaves 15 *b* and 100 *b*). It names Thomas's prophecy as an authority, and mentions several of the mysterious episodes of the third fytte of our romance; thus:—

[1] "William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward III. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among MSS."—*Warton*. Among the contents of Rawl. C. 813 is "*Pars visionis Domini Willielmi Banistre, milytis*" (leaf 142 *b*).

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At Sandyfurde, for-suthe, in the south syde,
A pruude prunce in the prese lordly sall lythe,
Wyth balde bernes in bushment *the* batell sall mete;
Thar sall profecy proffe *that* thomas of tellys, &c.

Betuix Setone and *the* See sorow sall be wrought.

Then the lyonne wyght *the* lyonisses efter *that* sall Reigne;
Thus bretlingtone bukis and banestre us tellis,
Merlyne and mony moo *that* mene of may mene,
And *the* expositoris Wigythtoune & thomas wyght-all tellis.

In the printed edition of 1603 the two last lines run:—

Merling & many more that with meruels melles
and also Thomas Rymour in his tales telles.

What follows is also reproduced in many later prophecies:—

Sone at *the* Saxonis shall chese þame a lorde,
And full sone bryng hyme at vnder,
A dede man sall make [thame] A-corde
And *that* sall be full mekyl wonder.

He that is dede ande beryde in syght
Sall Ryse ayane, and lyffe in lande,
In comforte of A yhong knyght
That fortoune has schose to be hir husbande.

The "prophecie of Beid," the second in the collection, appeals to Thomas for confirmation, and mentions Sandeford, as in l. 624 of our Romance:—

Who so trusts not this tale, nor the tearme knowes,
Let him on Merling meane, and his merrie words,
And true Thomas tolde in his time after
At Sandeford shall be seen example of their deeds.

Bede died five hundred and fifty years before True Thomas; but clearly the support of the latter was too valuable to be sacrificed to a trifling question of dates!

His prophecy is specially directed to Berwick-on-Tweed, formerly the first of the four great burghs of Scotland, but now, alas! in the grip of the English:

Though thou be subiect to the Saxons, sorrow thou not,
Thou shall be loosed at the last, belieue thou in Christ!

The year MCCCCLXXX is indicated by a method of which many imitations occur after, for the prophets had on the whole but little original genius, and when one of them started game, however poor, the rest all followed in the chase till it was done to death:—

Who so doubts of this dead or denyes heereon,
I doe them well for to know, the dait is deuised,
Take the formest of midleird, & marke by the selfe [M]
With foure crescentes, closed together, [CCCC]
Then of the Lyon the longest see thou choose [L]
Loose not the Lyones, let her lye still,
If thou castes through care, the course of the heauen,
take Sanctandrois Crose thrise [XXX]
Keep well these teachments as Clarkes hath tolde
thus beginnes the dait, deeme as thou likes,
thou shall not ceis in that seit assumed in the text.

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The year 1480 was that in which James III allowed himself to be enticed by the King of France into breaking the truce with Edward IV, as a result of which Berwick was captured by the English in 1482, and in spite of the prophecy, which was no doubt composed or compiled soon after, was never again recovered by Scotland. As to the influence which pretended prophecies had upon the conduct of the king at this very time, see Tytler's History of Scotland, p. 214. Nor was the belief in such occult agencies less powerful in England: see Greene's History of the English People, p. 268.

"The prophecie of Merlyne," which follows, after 16 lines of alliterate rhyme, beginning—

It is to fal when they it finde
that fel on face is faine to flee
That commed are of strodlings strinde,
Waxing through the worke of winde
The Beare his musal shal vpbinde,
And neuer after bund shal be
Away the other shal waxe with winde
And as they come so shall they flee—

introduces an ancient alliterative poem of marked Arthurian cast, which I have reprinted in my Introduction to the "Complaynt of Scotland," p. xlvi. From its contents, I am inclined to think that it may have been compiled shortly after the death of Alexander III, and I think the description of the "kid conqueror" and "kind lord of all Bretaine that bounds to the broad See," is clearly derived from obscure legends of the expected return of Arthur.

"The prophecie of Bertlington"—the Brydlyngton,[1] to whom the Lansdowne MS. attributes the "Cok in the North" prophecy—is a medley of older fragments of various ages, some alliterative, some in rhyme, some in both, and some in neither, ingeniously adapted and fitted together, and interpolated with others here first met with, about the son of a French wife, a descendant of Bruce within the ninth degree, who should unite England and Scotland in one kingdom. This, which became in the sequel by far the most famous of all the prophecies, was skilfully analyzed by Lord Hailes in his "Remarks on the History of Scotland" (Edin., 1773), and shown to have been intended originally for John, Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, brother of James III and his French wife, the daughter of the Count of Boulogne, who came to Scotland, after the death of James IV in the Battle of Flodden, and from whose regency great things were hoped. Lord Hailes, however, has inadvertently accused the author of inventing many things, which he really found in prophecies of the preceding century, and transferred, as they were still

[1] "John Bridlington, an Augustine Canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote 3 books of '*carmina vaticinalia*,' in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digby, Bibl. Bodl. 89 and 186. He died, aged 60, in 1379, and was canonized."—*Warton*.

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unfulfilled, to his own prediction, honestly believing, no doubt, that they were now to be accomplished. Such were the prediction that Albany should land in the Forth (which he did not), and the "thrice three" years after '13, given him for the performance of his doughty deeds (which he utterly failed to do). He starts with alliterative verse :—

When the Ruby is raised, rest is there none,
But much rancour shal rise in River & plane.
Throw a tretie of a true,[1] a trayne shal be made,
That Scotland shal rew, and Ingland for ever,
For the which Gladsmoore, & Gouan mure gapes thereafter.

Then, an adaptation of some lines in the prophecy of Merlin introduces the new prediction :—

Betwixt Temptallon & the Basse
thou shall see a right faire sight,
Of barges & bellingars, and many broad saile,
With iij Libertes and the flourdelice hie vpon hight
And so the dreadful Dragon shall rise from his den
And from the deepe doughtelie shall draw to the height.
Of Bruce's left side shall spring out a leif,
As neere as the ninth degree,
And shall be ffemed of faire Scotland
In France farre beyond the see;
And then shall come againe riding
With eyes that men may see,
At Aberladie he shall light
With hempen halters & hors of tree;
On Gosforde greene it shall be seene,
On Gladsmoore shall the battle be.
Now Albanie thou make the boun,
At his bidding he thou prompt, [? yare]
He shal deile both towre and towne,
His guiftes shal stand for euer more. [? mare]
Then boldly boun the thereafter.

The original of this is in the "Ancient Scottish Prophecy," No. 1 in E. E. T. S., No. 42, edited by Mr Lumby, already referred to :—

Fra bambrwgh to the basse on the brayde See,
And fra farnelande to the fyrth salbe a fayr syght
O barges and ballungerys, and mony brod sayle :
and the lybberte with the flurdowlyss sall fayr ther apon.
Thar sal A huntter in hycht come fra the Southe.
Wyth mony Rechis on Raw Rewleyd full Ryght.

Then the stob-cross and the crow, the dead man rising, and Gladsmoor, as before :—

Upon a broad moore a battle shal be,
Beside a stob crose of stone,
Which in the Moore stands hie,
It shal be clearly cled ouer with corps of knights,
That the crow may not find where the crose stoode,
Many wife shal weepe, and Sice shall vnder,
the ded shal rise, and that shal be wonder,
And rax him rudely in his shire shield,
For the great comfort of a new King.
Now hye the powok with thy proud showes,
Take thy part of the pelfe when the pack opens.
It shall not be Gladsmoore by the sey
It shall be Gladsmoore where euer it be
And the little lowne that shall be
Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

[1] *True, trew*, the proper singular of *trewis, trewes, truce*, now treated in English as a singular ; Fr. *trève*, pl. *trèves*.

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Then,—after much alliterative matter about a hound out of the south, an Egle out of the north, a Ghost out of the west, and the bastard in wedlock born, as in Thomas, to do doughty deeds, and bring all to peace again,—comes a clearer delineation of Albany, several quotations from Thomas and Merlin, and appeals to them and Bede for confirmation, ending appropriately with an Arthur bit to clench all :—

> How euer it happen for to fall,
> The Lyon shal be Lord of all.
> The French wife shal beare the sonne,
> Shal welde al Bretane to the sea,
> And from the Bruce's blood shall come.
> As near as the ninth degree.
> Meruelous Merling that many men of tells,
> And Thomas sayings comes all at once
> Thogh their sayings be selcouth, they shal be suith found.
> And there shal all our glading be,
> The Crowe shal sit upon a stone
> And drink the gentle blood as free
> Take of the ribes, and beare to her birdes,
> As God hath said, so must it be,
> Then shal Ladies laddes wed,
> And brooke Castles, and Towers hie.
> Bede hath breued in his booke, and Banister also,
> Meruelous Merling, and al accordes in one,
> Thomas the trew, that neuer spake false
> Consents to their saying, & the same terme hath taken,
> Yet shall there come a keene Knight ouer the salt sea,
> A keene man of courage, and bolde man of armes,
> A Duke's son doubled, a born man in France,
> That shal our mirthes amend, and mend all our harmes,
> After the date of our Lord 1513. & thrise three there after,
> Which shal brooke al the braid Ile to him selfe,
> Betwixt xiij. and thrise three the Threip shal be ended,
> the Saxons shal neuer recouer after,
> He shal be crowned in the kith, in the Castle of Douer,
> Which weares the golden garland of *Julius Cesar*
> More worship shal he win, of greater worth,
> Than euer Arthur himselfe had in his daies,
> Many doughtie deedes shal he doe there after,
> Which shal be spoken of many dayes better.

I have treated this composition at greater length, because it illustrates very clearly the history of the prophecies generally, which were formed by compiling the unfulfilled portions of older predictions already current, and giving them point and application to events now in view or expectation. The prophecy of the French wife's son was a very striking one, and was fondly cherished by the nation. After miserably failing in its original application to Albany, it was served up again and again in new combinations all through the sixteenth century.

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It reappears in the next piece in the collection of 1603, "the prophecie of Thomas Rymour" himself, which, from its nominal connexion with the subject of this work, I print entire in the Appendix. Although unconnected with the older poem, it bears a considerable resemblance to it in imagery. There is a vision of a lady on a "louely lee," whose mount and array is fully described, and several lines and couplets are actually taken from the older Thomas. It seems originally to have appeared shortly after the battle of Flodden, referring in lines 109—125 to the doubtful fate of James IV, and in

> The sternes three that day shall die,
> That beares the harte in silver sheen,—

to the death of the heir of the house of Douglas.

But it seems to have been interpolated to suit the time of the battle of Pinkie, which is cleverly identified with the "Spyncarde clow" in line 496 of our Romance. Now also the prediction of "the French Wife" and her son was added to the prophecy, being awkwardly interpolated into an inquiry as to the narrator's name, at the close. The origin of this prediction, forty years before, being now quite forgotten, it was accepted as a genuine deliverance of the Rymour himself, and continued to be held in the highest credit as his. It was applied to Queen Mary, as having been the wife of a French prince, by the poet Alexander Scott in his "New Year's Address to the Queen," and finally, when her son James VI actually succeeded to the English throne, the renown of Thomas as the accredited author of the prophecy filled all Britain, and excited attention even beyond the seas.

"The prophecie of Waldhaue,"[1] which comes next, is in fine alliterative measure, reminding one in its commencement of "Piers Plowman":—

> Upon Loudon Law a lone as I lay
> Looking to the Lennox, as me leif thought,
> The first morning of May, medicine to seeke
> For malice and melody that moued me sore.

While in this situation the author "hears a voice which bids him stand to his defence; he looks round, and beholds a flock of hares and foxes pursued over the mountains by a savage figure, to whom he can hardly give the name of a man. At the sight of Waldhave, the apparition leaves the object of his pursuit, and assaults him with a club. Waldhave defends himself with his sword, throws the savage to the earth, and refuses to let him rise till he swear, by the law and leid he lives

[1] St Waldhave or Waltheof, the most famous of the early abbots of Melrose (1148—1159), was grandson of the great Earl Waltheof, by his daughter Matilda, wife of Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton, and afterwards of David I. His life, full of miraculous legends, was written by Josceline, a monk of Furness Abbey.

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upon, 'to do him no harm.' This done, he permits him to rise, and marvels at his strange appearance :—

> He was formed like a freike, all his foure quaters
> And then his chin and his face haired so thick,
> With haire growing so grime, fearful to see.

He answers briefly to Waldhave's inquiry concerning his name and nature, that he 'drees his weird,' *i. e.* endures his fate, in that wood; and having hinted that questions as to his own state are offensive, he consents to tell 'the fate of these wars,' and concludes with—

> Go musing upon Merlin if thou wilt
> For I mean no more, man, at this time."

The whole of this scene is exactly similar to the meeting of Merlin and Kentigern as related by Fordun. Merlin's prophetic outpourings consist chiefly of short apostrophes to the principal towns and fortresses of Scotland; for example :—

> What Jangelst thou Jedburgh, thou Jages for nought,
> there shal a gyleful groom dwel thee within,
> The Towre that thou trustes in, as the truth is,
> Shal be traced with a trace, trow thou non other.

The next piece,—"Here followeth how Waldhaue did coniure this Spirit to shew much more of sindrie things to come, as foloweth,"—seems to be a later compilation, made up of pieces from the older prophecies in the name of Merlyne and true Thomas. The transactions of "the Lillie, the Lyon, and the Libbart," form its immediate burden, but it quotes the legend of the dead man rising again,—

> 'as meruelous Merling hath said of before.'

There are also many references to Thomas :—

> The first roote of this war shal rise in the north,
> That the Iles and Ireland shal mourne for them both,
> And the Saxons seased into Brutes landes.
> This is a true talking [takyn] that Thomas of tells,
> that the Hare shal hirpil on the hard stones,
> In hope of grace, but grace gets she non,
> Then Gladsmoore and Gouane shal gape there after.

The "token" here alluded to is in the very ancient prophecy of Thomas to the Countess of Dunbar, in the Harleian piece already quoted (p. xviii). The date fixed on seems to be 1485, and the prophecies of Merling, Bede, Thomas and Waldhave, are quoted as already existing :—

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When the Moone is dark in the first of the number, [M]
With foure Crescentes to eik forth the daies [CCCC]
And thrise ten is selcouth to see, [XXX]
With a L. to lose out the rest of the number, [L]
Syne let three and two Threipe as they will [V]
This is the true date that Merling of tells,
And gaue to King Uter, Arthures father:
And for to mene and muse with there merrie wordes,
For once Brittaine shal be in a new knightes handes,
Who so hap to byde shall see with his eies,
As Merling and Waldhaue hath said of before,
And true Thomas told in his time after,
And Saint Beid in his booke breued the same,
Mute on if ye may, for mister ye haue,
I shal giue you a token that Thomas of tells,
When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields,
And many faire thing weeping for dread,
For loue of there dear freindes lies looking on hilles,
That it shal be woe for to tel the teind of there sorrow.

The token of the "Lad," or man-servant and "the Lady," is found both in the old Harleian piece and our Romance; in the former, among the paradoxical things to happen before the war's end—

When ryȝt and wrong ascenteþ to gedere,
When laddes weddeþ levedies;

in the latter, l. 651, as a result of the carnage in the last battle at Sandyford,

ladys shalle wed laddys ȝyng,
when *þer* lordis ar ded away.

See the same figure repeated in the "Prophecie of Bertlington," already cited, p. xxxvi.

Waldhave's pieces are followed by "the Scottes prophesies in Latine," and "the prophesie of Gildas," seemingly directed against reformation in the church. Older still than Bede by three centuries, Gildas, to do homage to Thomas, still more daringly defies chronology:—

Prepare thee, Edinburgh, & pack up thy packes,
thou shalt be left void, be thou leif or loath,
Because thou art variant, and flemed of thy faith
throgh Envie & couetousnes that cumbered thee euer.
True Thomas me told in a troublesome time
In a haruest morning at Eldound hilles.

Passing "the prophecie of the English Chronicles," an extract from Higden, we come to "the prophecie of Sibylla and Eltraine," which appears to refer to the troubles during the regency of the Earl of Arran in the minority of Mary:—

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When the Goate with the gilden horne is chosen to the sea
The next yeare there after Gladsmoore shal be
Who so likes for to reade,
Mereuelous Marling and Beid,
In this maner they shal proceede,
Of thinges unknowne
the truth now to record,
And that from the date of our Lord,
Though that it be showne,
take a thousand in Calculation [M]
And the longest of the Lyon, [L]
Foure Crescentes under one Crowne [CCCC]
With Saint Andrews Crose thrise, [XXX]
then threescore and thrise three, [LX.IX]
Take tent to Merling truly,
Then shal the warres ended be
And neuer againe rise.
In that yeare there shal ring
A Duke and no crowned king.
Because the prince shall be young
and tender of yeares.

"The date above hinted at seems to be 1549, when the Regent, by means of some succours derived from France, was endeavouring to repair the consequence of the fatal Battle of Pinkie. Allusion is made to the supply given to the Moldiwarte [England] by the fained hart [the Earl of Angus]. The regent is described by his bearing the antelope; large supplies are promised from France, and complete conquest promised to Scotland and her Allies."

Thus shall the warres ended be
Then peace and pollicie
Shall raigne in Albanie
Still without end,
And who so likes to looke,
The description of this booke,
This writes Beid who will looke.
And so doth make an end.

"Thus was the same hackneyed stratagem repeated, whenever the interest of the rulers appeared to stand in need of it."

Happily the need was not to last for ever. That Union, so long expected, and so oft deferred, of England and Scotland, under one sovereign was at length accomplished. To add lustre to it, the Queen of Sheba and the Cumæan Sibyl are rolled into one, and furnish the crowning "prophecy" of the book:—

"Heere followeth a prophesie pronounced by a Noble Queene and matron called Sibylla Regina Austre. That came to Solomon throgh the which she compiled foure bookes at the instance and request of the said King Solomon and others diuers, and the fourth booke was directed to a noble King called Baldwine, King of the broade Ile of Bretaine: of the which she maketh mention of two Noble princes and Emperours the which is called Leones of these two shall subdue and ouercome all earthlie princes, to their Diademe & Crowne, and also be glorified and crowned in the heauen among Saints. The firste of these two, Is, Magnus Constantinus that was Leprosus, the Son of S. Helene that found the Croce. The second is, the Sixte King of the name of Steward of Scotland the which is our most Noble King!"

12. It was in the year that James VI ascended the English throne that the prophecies, having at length been accomplished, were in greatest credit and renown. Robert Birrell, in his Diary, tells us that "at this time all the haill commons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and

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exponing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of vther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes." John Colville, in his funeral oration on Queen Elizabeth, mentioned the "carmina" of Thomas the Rhymer, which as a boy he had heard quoted by *balathrones ceraulas*, and then looked upon as only subjects for laughter, but now recognized as serious and authentic; though, like his predecessor Wyntown, he was equally in doubt whether the inspiration of Thomas was Delphic or divine. Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (1580—1640), in dedicating his "Monarchicke Tragedies" to King James, refers to the same belief:—

> Ere thou wast borne, and since, heaven thee endeeres,
> Held back as best to grace these last worst times;
> The world long'd for thy birth three hundreth yeeres,
> Since first fore-told wrapt in propheticke rimes.

Nor does his more celebrated contemporary, William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585—1649), neglect to offer to his royal patron the same flattering incense:—

> This is that king who should make right each wrong,
> Of whom the bards and mysticke Sibilles song,
> The man long promis'd, by whose glorious raigne
> This isle should yet her ancient name regaine,
> And more of Fortunate deserve the stile
> Than those where heauens with double summers smile.
>
> *Forth Feasting*, Edin., 1617.

Archbishop Spottiswood (1565—1639) was a firm believer in the authenticity of these compositions. In his "History of the Church of Scotland" he says, "the prophecies yet extant in Scottish *Rithmes*, whereupon he was commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, may justly be admired, having foretold, so many ages before, the union of England and Scotland, in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other diuers particulars which the event hath ratified and made good. . . . . Whence or how he had this knowledge, can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come." (Spottiswoode Society's Ed., Vol. I, p. 93. Edin., 1851.)

13. These alleged revelations received considerable attention even during the Jacobite rising in 1745. It appears that the final accomplishment of the unfulfilled parts of Thomas's predictions was now expected. The Duke of Gordon, one of the friends of the Stuart cause, was recognized as the "Cock of the North;" and in the flush of triumph at their easy victory of Prestonpans, within six miles of the parish church of Gladsmuir in East-Lothian, and not a third of that distance

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from Seaton, a village about a mile from the sea, on the line of the railway between Edinburgh and Dunbar, the Jacobites identified it with the great Armageddon of the prophecies, the "Battle of Gladsmoor" itself. Hamilton of Bangor sang—

As over Gladsmoor's blood-stained field,
Scotia imperial goddess flew,
Her lifted spear & radiant shield,
Conspicuous blazing to the view;
* * * * *
With him I plough'd the stormy main,
My breath inspir'd the auspicious gale;
Reserv'd for Gladsmoor's glorious plain,
Through dangers wing'd his daring sail.

while in other songs we find—

Cope turn'd the chace, & left the place;
The Lothians was the next land ready;
And then he swure that at Gladsmuir
He would disgrace the Highland plaidie.

The battle of Gladsmoor, it was a noble stour,
And weel do we ken that our young prince wan;
The gallant Lowland lads, when they saw the tartan plaids,
Wheel 'round to the right, and away they ran.
For Master Johnnie Cope, being destitute of hope,
Took horse for his life & left his men;
In their arms he put no trust, for he knew it was just
That the king should enjoy his own again.

It was no doubt in reference to the use thus made of them, that Lord Hailes, in his Remarks on the History of Scotland (Edin., 1773), thought it necessary to give a serious refutation of the alleged prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer; "for, let it be considered," he says, "that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is not forgotten in Scotland, nor his authority altogether slighted, even at this day. Within the memory of man, his prophecies, and the prophecies of other Scotch soothsayers, have not only been reprinted, but have been consulted with a weak, if not criminal curiosity. I mention no particulars; for I hold it ungenerous to reproach men with weaknesses of which they themselves are ashamed. The same superstitious credulity might again spring up. I flatter myself that my attempts to eradicate it will not prove altogether vain."

The "Whole Prophecies" continued to be printed as a chap-book down to the beginning of the present century, when few farm-houses in Scotland were without a copy of the mystic predictions of the Rhymer and his associates.

14. Nor was the name of Thomas of Erceldoune less known and reverenced in England than in Scotland. Exclusive of the fact that all the copies we have of the old romance and prophecies have come down to us at the hands of English transcribers, the English prophetic writings of the 15th and 16th centuries abound in appeals to his authority and quotations acknowledged and unacknowledged from the predictions attributed to him. The period in English History, when these

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predictions were most in vogue, was that which intervened between the decline of the fortune of the House of Lancaster, about 1430, and the full establishment of the Tudors, and completion of the rupture with Rome under Henry VIII. The numerous battles during the Wars of the Roses, especially that of Barnet, the overthrow of the Yorkist cause at Bosworth, the appearance of Yorkist pretenders under Henry VII, the defeat of the Scots at Flodden, and the daring of Henry VIII in defying the pope and suppressing the religious orders, were all the theme of *soi-disant* prophetic rhymes. One of these, claiming to be a joint production of "*Venerabilis Bede, Marlionis, Thome Arslaydoun, et aliorum*" (the last being by far the most certain of the ingredients), and which is in all probability the actual "Prophisies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng," with which Sir David Lyndesay regaled the childish ears of James V, I have printed in Appendix II. In its commencement it is identical with the Scotch "Prophesie of Thomas Rymer," in Appendix I, and the two have evidently been expanded from the same original nucleus. It occurs both in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the copies of our romance, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813 at Oxford. Both texts, as will be seen, are transcripts of older ones.

The Sloane MS. 2578 also contains many kindred productions, one of which, concerned with the battles "between Seton and the Sea," at Gladsmoor, and at Sandeford, and other mysterious episodes of Fytt III of "Thomas of Ersseldowne," and giving to these an English application, is added in Appendix III; shorter "prophecies" of the same nature appear among the illustrative notes to Fytt III of the romance.

15. In Thomas's own locality of Tweedside, as well as elsewhere in Scotland, many traditional predictions ascribed to him have long been current. Several of these were recorded by Scott in "the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," others have since been given in the "History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club" and other local publications, and by Robert Chambers in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland." (New Edition, 1870.) Among these, "the Rhymer" is said to have prophesied of the ancient family of Haig of Bemerside,—with an early member of which, Petrus de Haga, we have already seen him connected, and whose family motto, according to Nisbet, was "Tide what may,"

> Betide, betide, whate'er betide,
> Haig shall be Haig of Bemerside.

"The grandfather of the present (1802) proprietor of Bemerside had twelve daughters, before his lady brought him a male heir. The common people trembled for the credit of their favourite soothsayer. The late Mr Haig was at length born,

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and their belief in the prophecy confirmed beyond a shadow of doubt."—*Minstr. Scott. Bord.*, vol. iii. p. 209. Dr R. Chambers, in a note to this "prophecy" in "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," p. 297, says, "1867—The prophecy has come to a sad end, for the Haigs of Bemerside have died out." My local correspondents inform me that the condolence is premature, as Miss Sophia Haig, the 21st in uninterrupted line from Petrus de Haga, is still alive in Italy.

Sir Walter Scott continues, "Another memorable prophecy bore that the old Kirk at Kelso (fitted up in the ruins of the Abbey) should fall when at the fullest." At a very crowded sermon, about 30 years ago (1770), a piece of lime fell from the roof of the Church. The alarm for the fulfilment of the words of the seer became universal, and happy were they who were nearest the door of the doomed edifice. The church was in consequence deserted, and has never since had a chance of tumbling upon a full congregation.

"Another prediction, ascribed to the Rhymer, seems to have been founded on that sort of insight into futurity, possessed by most men of sound and combining judgment. It runs thus:—

> At Eldon tree if you shall be,
> A brigg ower Tweed you there may see.

The spot in question commands an extensive prospect of the course of the river; and it was easy to foresee that when the country should become in the least degree improved, a bridge would be somewhere thrown over the stream. In fact, you now see no less than three bridges from that elevated situation."

Others of these traditional predictions are recorded as:

> Vengeance! vengeance! when & where?
> On the house of Coldingknow, now & ever mair!
>
> The burn o' breid, [Bannockburn]
> Sall rin fu reid.
>
> A horse sall gang on Carolside brae
> Till the red girth gaw his sides in twae.
>
> The hare sall kittle [litter] on my hearth stane
> And there will never be a laird Learmont again.

The three latter of these are evidently distorted echoes of passages in the old prophecies. The last of them, in the form "When hares kendles o the herston," is really a line of the old Cottonian prophecy describing the desolation to which Scotland was to be reduced before the end of the English War, but locally it has been adapted to the fate of Thomas's own roof-tree, and in this acceptation says Mr Currie, "I saw it, with my own eyes, fulfilled in 1839, as it may easily have been

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many times before. The rumour spread in Earlstoun that one of the Rhymer's most celebrated prophecies had been fulfilled, and I well remember running with all the rest of the town, to see the hare's nest; and sure enough there it was—two young hares in a nettle bush in the fire place!"

"One of the more terrible predictions of the Rhymer is as follows:—

At Threeburn Grange, in an after day,
There shall be a lang and bloody fray;
Where a three thumbed wight by the reins shall hald
Three kings' horse, baith stout and bauld,
And the Three Burns three days will rin
Wi' the blude o' the slain that fa' therein.

"Threeburn Grange (properly Grains) is a place a little above the press, Berwickshire, where three small rills meet, and form the water of Ale. 'Thirty years ago, this rhyme was very popular in the east end of Berwickshire; and about the time of the French Revolution, a person of the name of Douglas being born in Coldingham parish with an excrescence on one of his hands, which bore some resemblance to a third thumb, the superstitious believed that this was to be the identical 'three-thumbed wight' of the Rhymer, and nothing was looked for but a fearful accomplishment of the prophecy."[1]

"The following," says Dr R. Chambers, "is perhaps not ancient, but it expresses that gloomy fear of coming evil which marks so many of the rhymes attributed to Thomas:

When the white ox comes to the corse,
Every man may tak his horse.

Similar in spirit is:

Atween Craik-cross and Eildon-tree,
Is a' the safety there shall be,

varied in Galloway—

A' the safety there shall be,
Sall be atween Criffel and the sea.

"The first space is one of about thirty miles; the second much narrower. Sir Walter Scott relates that the first of these rhymes was often repeated in the Border Counties during the early years of the French revolutionary war, when the less enlightened class of people laboured under the most agonizing apprehensions of invasion. In the south of Scotland, this prophecy then obtained universal credence; and the tract of country alluded to was well surveyed, and considered by many wealthy persons, anxious to save their goods and lives, as the place to which they would probably fly for refuge 'in case of the French coming.'"

[1] *History of Berwickshire Naturalist's Club*, vol. i. p. 147.

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Within my own memory a prophecy used to be quoted of a time when "men shall ride to the horses' reins in blude,—

> And if any safety there shal be
> 'Twill be 'tween Craig House & Eildon Tree,"

often varied, however, with "'tween Hawick & Eildon Tree." Craig House is a small estate, between Leader-foot and Smailholm, about a mile from Bemerside, and thus at a very short distance from Eildon. The oldest form of this couplet is found in the "Prophecy of Bertlington" of 1515, already quoted p. xxxv:

> And the little lowne [shelter] that shall be
> Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

"A verse referring to the future improvement of the country may be taken as a curious specimen of foreseeing wisdom. Thomas had the sagacity to discover that the ground would be more generally cultivated at some future period than it was in his own time; but also knowing that population and luxury would increase in proportion, he was enabled to assure the posterity of the poor that their food would not consequently increase in quantity. His words were:

> The waters shall wax, the wood shall wene,
> Hill and moss shall be torn in;
> But the bannock will ne'er be braider."

"It is certain that many rhymes professedly by our hero were promulgated in *consequence* of particular events. Of this character is:

> There shall a stone wi' Leader come,
> That'll make a rich father, but a poor son;

an allusion to the supposed limited advantage of the process of liming. The Highlanders have also found, since the recent changes of tenantry in their country, that Thomas predicted that 'The teeth of the sheep shall lay the plough on the shelf.' I have been assured that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is as well known at this day among the common people in the Highlands, nay, even in the remoter of the Western Isles, as it is in Berwickshire. His notoriety in the sixteenth century is shown in a curious allusion in a witch-trial of that age—namely, that of Andro Man, which took place at Aberdeen in 1598. In his ditty, Andro is charged with having been assured in his boyhood by the Queen of Elfin, 'that thow suld knaw all things, and suld help and cuir all sort of seikness, except stane deid, and that thow suld be weill intertenit, but *wald seik thy meit or thow deit, as Thomas Rymour did*' [that is, beg his bread]. Also: 'Thow affermis that the Quene of Elphen hes a grip of all the craft, but Christsondy [the devil] is the guidman, and hes all power vnder God, and that thow kennis sindrie deid men in

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thair cumpanie, and that *the kyng that deit in Flowdoun and Thomas Rymour is their.*'—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 119—121.

"The common people at Banff and its neighbourhood preserve the following specimens of the more terrible class of the Rhymer's prophecies:

At two full times, and three half times,
Or three score years and ten,
The ravens shall sit on the Stones o' St Brandon,
And drink o' the blood o' the slain!

The Stones of St Brandon were standing erect a few years ago in an extensive level field about a mile to the westward of Banff, and immediately adjacent to the Brandon How, which forms the boundary of the town in that direction. The field is supposed to have been the scene of one of the early battles between the Scots and Danes, and fragments of weapons and bones of men have been dug from it.

"An Aberdeenshire tradition represents that the gates of Fyvie Castle had stood for seven years and a day *wall-wide*, waiting for the arrival of True Tammas, as he is called in that district. At length he suddenly appeared before the fair building, accompanied by a violent storm of wind and rain, which stripped the surrounding trees of their leaves, and shut the castle gates with a loud clash. But while the tempest was raging on all sides, it was observed that, close by the spot where Thomas stood, there was not wind enough to shake a pile of grass or move a hair of his beard. He denounced his wrath in the following lines:

Fyvie, Fyvie, thou s' never thrive,
As lang's there's in thee stanis three:
There's ane intill the highest tower,
There's ane intill the ladye's bower,
There's ane aneath the water-ȝett,
And thir three stanes ye s' never get.

The usual prose comment states that two of these stones have been found, but that the third, beneath the gate leading to the Ythan, or water-gate, has hitherto baffled all search.

"There are other curious traditionary notices of the Rhymer in Aberdeenshire; one thus introduced in a *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* written about 1732: 'On Aiky Brae here [in Old Deer parish] are certain stones called the *Cummin's Craig*, where 'tis said one of the Cummins, Earls of Buchan, by a fall from his horse at hunting, dashed out his brains. The prediction goes that this earl (who lived under Alexander III.) had called Thomas the Rhymer by the name of Thomas the Lyar, to show how much he slighted his predictions, whereupon that famous fortune-teller denounced his impending fate in these words, which, 'tis added, were all literally fulfilled:

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Tho' Thomas the Lyar thou call'st me,
A sooth tale I shall tell to thee:
By Aiky side thy horse shall ride,
He shall stumble and thou shalt fa',
Thy neckbane shall break in twa,
And dogs shall thy banes gnaw,
And, maugre all thy kin and thee,
Thy own belt thy bier shall be.'

"It is said that Thomas visited Inverugie, which in later times was a seat of the Marischal family, and there from a highstone poured forth a vaticination to the following effect:

Inverugie by the sea,
Lordless shall thy landis be;
And underneath thy hearth-stane
The tod shall bring her birdis hame.

This is introduced in the manuscript before quoted, at which time the prophecy might be said to be realized in the banishment and forfeiture of the late Earl Marischal for his share in the insurrection of 1715. The stone in which the seer sat was removed to build the church in 1763; but the field in which it lay is still called *Tammas's Stane.*

"One of Thomas's supposed prophecies referring to this district appears as a mere deceptive jingle:

When Dee and Don shall run in one,
And Tweed shall run in Tay,
The bonny water o' Urie
Shall bear the Bass away.

The Bass is a conical mount, of remarkable appearance, and about 40 feet high, rising from the bank of the Urie, in the angle formed by it at its junction with the Don. The rhyme appears in the manuscript collections of Sir James Balfour, which establishes for it an antiquity of fully two hundred years. It is very evident that the author, whoever he was, only meant to play off a trick upon simple imaginations, by setting one (assumed) impossibility against another.

"A native of Edinburgh, who in 1825 was seventy-two years of age, stated that when he was a boy, the following prophetic rhyme, ascribed to True Thomas, was in vogue:

York was, London is, and Edinburgh will be
The biggest o' the three.

In his early days, Edinburgh consisted only of what is now called the Old Town; and the New Town, though projected, was not then expected ever to reach the extent and splendour which it has since attained. Consequently, it can scarcely be said that the prophecy has been put in circulation after its fulfilment had become a matter of hope or imaginable possibility. It is to be remarked, however, that there is a similar rhyme popular in England. Stukely, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, after expatiating upon the original size and population of Lincoln, quotes as an old adage:

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Lincoln *was*, London *is*, and York *shall be*
The fairest city of the three.

"One of the rhymes most popular at Earlstoun referred to an old thorn-tree which stood near the village, and of which Thomas had said,

This thorn-tree, as lang as it stands,
Earlstoun shall possess a' her lands.

The lands originally belonging to the community of Earlstoun have been, in the course of time, alienated piecemeal, till there is scarcely an acre left. The thorn-tree fell during the night in a great storm which took place in the spring of 1814.

"The Rhymer is supposed to have attested the infallibility of his predictions by a couplet to the following effect:

When the saut gaes abune the meal
Believe nae mair o' Tammie's tale.

In plain English, that it is just as impossible for the price of the small quantity of salt used in the preparation of porridge to exceed the value of the larger quantity of meal required for the same purpose, as for his prophecies to become untrue." *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, by Robert Chambers, LL.D. New Edition, 1870, pp. 211—224. (See some additional particulars after the *Notes*.)

There is said also to have been a popular tradition, how far independent of the written remains, one does not know—of the intercourse between Thomas and the Fairy Queen as related in the Ballad. "The popular tale bears, that Thomas was carried off at an early age to the Fairy Land, where he acquired all the knowledge which made him afterward so famous. After seven years' residence he was permitted to return to the earth, to enlighten and astonish his countrymen by his prophetic powers; still, however, remaining bound to return to his royal mistress, when she should intimate her pleasure. Accordingly, while Thomas was making merry with his friends in the Tower of Ercildoune, a person came running in, and told, with marks of fear and astonishment, that a hart and hind had left the neighbouring forest, and were composedly and slowly parading the street of the village. The prophet instantly arose, left his habitation, and followed the wonderful animals to the forest, whence he was never seen to return. According to the popular belief, he still 'drees his weird' in Fairy Land, and is one day expected to revisit earth. In the meanwhile his memory is held in most profound respect. The Eildon Tree, from beneath the shadow of which he delivered his prophecies, now no longer exists; but the spot is marked by a large stone called Eildon Tree Stone. A neighbouring rivulet takes the name of the Bogle Burn (Goblin Brook), from the

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Rhymer's supernatural visitants."[1]—*Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. III, p. 209. Scott adds that "the veneration paid to the dwelling-place of Thomas even attached itself in some degree to a person, who, within the memory of man, chose to set up his residence in the ruins of Learmont's tower. The name of this man was Murray, a kind of herbalist; who, by dint of some knowledge in simples, the possession of a musical clock, an electrical machine, and a stuffed alligator, added to a supposed communication with Thomas the Rhymer, lived for many years in very good credit as a wizard." But Dr R. Chambers, in a note (Pop. Rhymes, p. 214), pronounces this account a strange distortion and mystification of the fact that a respectable and enlightened physician, Mr Patrick Murray, who "pursued various studies of a philosophical kind not common in Scotland during the eighteenth century," and is known as the author of some medical works, lived in the tower of Thomas of Ercildoun, then a comfortable mansion; and adds, "when we find a single age, and that the latest and most enlightened, so strangely distort and mystify the character of a philosophical country surgeon, can we doubt that five hundred years have played still stranger tricks with the history and character of Thomas the Rhymer?"

16. Eildon Tree, referred to in the Romance, and connected traditionally with Thomas's prophecies, stood on the declivity of the eastern of the three Eildon Hills, looking across the Tweed to Leader Water, Bemerside, Earlstoun, and other places connected with Thomas. Its site is believed to be indicated by the *Eildon Stone*, "a rugged boulder of whinstone" standing on the edge of the road from Melrose to St Boswell's, about a mile south-east from the former town, and on the ridge of a spur of the hill.[2] "The view from this point," says a correspondent, "is unsur-

[1] My friend, Mr Andrew Currie of Darnick, has sent me the following tradition of the disappearance of Thomas, which he took down 35 years ago from the mouth of "Rob Messer, a very intelligent matter-of-fact man, well versed in all traditionary lore about Earlston, and possessing a wonderful memory for a man of 85":—"Ye want to ken if ever aw heard how Tammas the Rymer disappeared?—Weel, aw can tell ye something aboot that, as aw had it frae ma graanfaither, an' nae doot he had it frae his fore-bears, for we're als auld a family in Yerlsten,—or raither Ercildoun, as it was caa'd i' thae days—we're als auld as the Learmonts. D'ye see thae auld waa's i' the front o' yeir ain shop? weel man, aw mind o' that bein' a gay an' subtantial hoose i' maa young days, an' Tammas the Rymer was last seen gaan' oot o' that hoose eae nicht afore the derknin', an' he set off up Leader for Lauder Cas'le; but he ne'er gat there—he never was sene againe. Aw've heard 'at he geade in there to get some deed signed or wutness 't, an' that he was carryan' money wi' him to some Lord or great man up there, 'at he was inimate wi'. But ma granfaither uist to say—an' nae doot he had it handit doon—that Leader was i' great fluid at the time, an' that Tammas the Rymer had been robbit an' murdert an' his body thrawn into the water, whulk micht take it to Berwick. An' that's likker-like than the Fairy story! Sae ye hae 'd, as aw had it, frae thaim 'at was afore us."

[2] Mr Currie has a verbal tradition that the tree stood not by the stone, but a quarter of a mile higher up the base of the hill, where he says "the site of it was pointed out to me thirty years ago by the late James Williamson of Newstead, and I believe I could still plant my stick

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passed; on the north you have the vale of Leader almost up to Earlston, and Cowdenknowes with its 'Black Hill' rising abruptly from the bed of the stream; while downward to Tweed the undulating expanse of woody bank is so beautiful, that in the time of the 'bonny broom,' I am often tempted to bend my steps to the spot, and 'lie and watch the sight,' from a spot once 'underneath the Eildon Tree.' In the close vicinity is the 'Bogle Burn,' a stream which rises on the slope of the Eastern Eildon, and flows down a deep glen into the Tweed a little to the north of Newtown St Boswell's. From the Eildon Stone the road descends some 500 yards in a straight line to the bed of the burn, and rises at the same angle to the opposite bank in true Roman fashion. In all probability the name of Bogle Burn is derived, as Sir Walter Scott suggested, from the Rhymer's supernatural visitants."

About half a mile to the west of the Eildon Stone, and on the slope of the same hill, we find the "Huntlee bankis" of the old romance. The spot lies a little above the North British Railway, at the point where it is crossed by the road to St Boswell's already referred to, about a quarter of a mile after leaving Melrose Station. The field next the road and railway at this point (No. 2405 on the Ordinance Map) is called *Monks' Meadow;* and higher up the hill above this are two fields (Nos. 2548 and 2408) which have preserved the name of *Huntlie Brae*, and to which in old John Bower's time tradition still pointed as the scene of Thomas's vision of the "Ladye." West of these lie the site of *Gallows Hill* and *Bower's Brae*, and a long narrow strip to the east, ascending from the road to the top of Huntlie Brae, is called the *Corse Rig*, and still burdened in its charter with an annual payment for the maintenance of the Town Cross of Melrose. From the small plantation at the head of the Corse Rig, at the east end of Huntlie Brae, a magnificent view is afforded of the surrounding locality, and in particular the eye has a full sweep along the road and hill side as far as the Eildon Stone and site of the ancient Tree.[1]

on the spot." But the general voice of tradition is, and apparently has been, that the tree stood by the stone itself. "This spot," says T. B. Gray, Esq., in a note to me on the subject, "is in fact the point of vantage whence the most extensive view in the neighbourhood is commanded. Higher up the hill, or lower down the hill, or farther back on the road, Melrose and all its beauties are lost, and Huntlee Brae itself shut out from sight; while from the stone, Bemerside, Smailholm Tower, Gladswood, Drygrange, Cowdenknowes, the Black Hill, Earlstoun (almost), Leader-foot and bridge, Galtonside, Galawater, and a long stream of silvery Tweed, start at once upon the view." Mr Gray also thinks that the spot was probably in olden times the site of a cross for the special devotion of pilgrims catching their first glimpse of St Mary's shrine from the east. There was a similar one on the west, at a point called to this day "High Cross," between Melrose and Darnick; and according to old Milne, in 1743, "a little to the southwest of Dingleton was a famous Cross, yet called the Crosshillhead, but anciently the Halesing of St Wada; for those that came from the South had first a view of the church here, and of the Tomb of St Waldhaue, and bowed and said their *Ave*."

[1] For the satisfactory identification of "Huntley Bankes" I am indebted entirely to

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Sir Walter Scott seems at first to have looked for "Huntlee bankis" in the vicinity of the Eildon Tree, but, as is well known, he afterwards affected to identify the name with a wild and picturesque ravine, then called "Dick's Cleuch," which runs by the base of the Western Eildon, two or three miles to the west of this, which he, "with his peculiar enthusiasm, purchased at probably fifty per cent. above its real value, in order to include it in his estate of Abbotsford." By skilfully planting the steep and often rugged sides, and leading a romantic pathway up the margin of the burn, which with many a cascade flows through it, he made "the Rhymer's Glen," as he christened it, a place of beauty to be visited by every tourist, albeit its real associations are with the modern "wizard of Tweedside," and not with the ancient seer of legend and tradition. The locality in fact possesses no view, and is not even in sight of the Eildon Tree, distant more than two miles on the other side of the mountain mass of the Eildons, and it may be more than suspected that the desire of bringing some of the romance of the old story to his own estate, was Sir Walter Scott's reason for naming it "the Rhymer's Glen;" although he had this "hair to mak a tether o'," that the name of "Huntley Wood" appears to have been borne by a small plantation which once stood on the hill side above Chiefswood, and so not far from his glen, and his "Huntley-burn."

17. Scott, in the "Border Minstrelsy," and Robert Jamieson, in his "popular Ballads and Songs," Edinburgh, 1806, give what professes to be a traditional ballad of "Thomas and the Queen of Elfland," considered by the former to be a genuine descendant of the old romance modified by oral tradition. "It will afford great

T. B. Gray, Esq., already mentioned, who by indefatigable perseverance has succeeded in seizing the last vestiges of an expiring tradition as to the site. Mr Gray first called my attention to the following passage in old John Bower's Account of Melrose:—"At the foot of the Eildon Hills, above Melrose, is a place called *Huntlie Brae*, where Thomas the Rhymer and the Queen of the Fairies frequently met, according to tradition. A little to the east of this is the *trysting-tree stone*." Mr Gray expressed his opinion that the place referred to must be the field or bank, adjoining what is called the Gallows Hill, but he was as yet unable to find the faintest tradition of the place having borne this name. Subsequently however he writes (8th Nov. 1875): "I am happy to say that I have identified *Huntlie-Brae* to my entire satisfaction, and in such a situation as to give a vivid tone of reality to the old Romance. Through the kindness of James Curle, Esq., of Messrs Curles & Erskines, solicitors here, I have been able to confirm old Bower's statement that there was such a place, and the senior partner of the firm assures me that he recollects quite well his father (an old man when he died) pointing out the very field my suspicions had fallen upon, as 'Huntlie-Brae.' By the Parish Ordinance Map Mr Curle was able to put his finger on the identical spot as fields 2408 and 2584. And now I am pleased to add that the locality is in entire harmony with the poetical reference; for if 'True Thomas' lay on Huntlie Brae or Bank, he would have a clear and distinct view of the 'ladye gaye' all the way along the road, or the hill side, to the Eildon Stone, a distance of fully half a mile. I had the pleasure on Friday afternoon to lead our friend Mr Currie over the spot, and he agrees with me as to the entire harmony between the site and the description in the ballad."

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amusement," he says, "to those who would study the nature of traditional poetry, and the changes effected by oral tradition, to compare the ancient romance with the ballad. The same incidents are narrated, even the expression is often the same; yet the poems are as different in appearance, as if the older tale had been regularly and systematically modernized by a poet of the present day." That the "as if" in the last sentence might safely be left out, and that the "traditional ballad" never grew "by oral tradition" out of the older, is clear enough to me, even without the additional particulars that the source of the verses was that Mt Athos of antique ballads, Mrs Brown's MS. Jamieson only says his copy was "procured from Scotland." The two copies differ in extent and expressions. To complete our Thomas literature they are here added in parallel columns.[1]

THOMAS THE RHYMER.

JAMIESON.		SCOTT.
True Thomas lay o'er yonder bank,		True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank;
And he beheld a lady gay,		A ferlie he spied wi' his ee;
A lady that was brisk and bold,		And there he saw a ladye bright,
Come riding o'er the fernie brae.	4	Come riding down by the Eildon tree.
Her skirt was of the grass-green silk,		Her shirt was o' the grass-green silk,
Her mantle of the velvet fine;		Her mantle o' the velvet fyne;
At ilka tate o' her horse's mane		At ilka tett of her horse's mane,
Hung fifty siller bells and nine.	8	Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

[1] Jamieson's copy apparently came from the same source as Scott's; see the following extract from a letter of Anderson, of the "*British Poets*," to Bishop Percy, given by Nicholl: "Mr Jamieson visited Mrs Brown on his return here from Aberdeen, and obtained from her recollection five or six ballads and a fragment. . . . . The greatest part of them is unknown to the oldest persons in this country. I accompanied Mr Jamieson to my friend [Walter] Scott's house in the country, for the sake of bringing the collectors to a good understanding. I then took on me to hint my suspicion of modern manufacture, *in which Scott had secretly anticipated me*. Mrs Brown is fond of ballad poetry, writes verses, and reads everything in the marvellous way. Yet her character places her above the suspicion of literary imposture; but it is wonderful how she should happen to be the depository of so many curious and valuable ballads." See Nicholl's *Illustrations of Literature*, p. 89.

Elsewhere in the same letter we read: "It is remarkable that Mrs Brown never saw any of the ballads she has transmitted here, either in print or manuscript, but learned them all when a child by hearing them sung by her mother and an old maid-servant who had been long in the family, and does not recollect to have heard any of them either sung or said by any one but herself since she was about ten years of age. She kept them as a little hoard of solitary entertainment, till, a few years ago, she wrote down as many as she could recollect, to oblige the late Mr W. Tytler, and again very lately wrote down nine more to oblige his son, the professor."

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JAMIESON.

True Thomas he took off his hat,
And bow'd him low down till his knee;
"All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven!
For your like on earth I never did see!"

"O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,
"That name does not belong to me;
I am but the queen of fair Elfland,
And I am come here to visit thee.

"But ye maun go wi' me now, Thomas,
True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me;
For ye maun serve me seven years,
Through weal and wae, as may chance to be."

She turned about her milk-white steed,
And took true Thomas up behind,
And ay whene'er her bridle rang,
Her steed flew swifter than the wind.

O they rade on, and farther on,
Until they came to a garden green;
"Light down, light down, ye lady free,
Some o' that fruit let me pull to thee."

"O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,
"That fruit maun no be touch'd by thee;
For a' the plagues that are in Hell
Light on the fruit o' this countrie.

"But I have a laef here in my lap,
Likewise a bottle of clarry wine;
And now, ere we go farther on,
We'll rest a while, and ye may dine."

When he had eaten and drank his fill,
The lady said, "ere we climb yon hill,
Lay your head upon my knee,
And I will show you ferlies three.

SCOTT.

True Thomas, he pull'd aff his cap,
And louted low down to the knee,
"All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven!
For thy peer on earth I never did see."—

"O no, O no, Thomas," she said,
"That name does not belang to me;
I am but the queen of fair Elfland,
That am hither come to visit thee.

"Harp and carp, Thomas," she said;
"Harp and carp along wi' me;
And if ye dare to kiss my lips,
Sure of your bodie I will be."—

"Betide me weal, betide me woe,
That weird shall never daunton me"—
Syne he has kissed her rosy lips,
All underneath the Eildon tree.

"Now ye maun go wi' me," she said;
"True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me;
And ye maun serve me seven years,
Thro' weal or woe as may chance to be."

She's mounted on her milk-white steed;
She's ta'en True Thomas up behind:
And aye, whene'er her bridle rung,
The steed flew swifter than the wind.

O they rode on, and further on;
The steed ga'ed swifter than the wind;
Until they reached a desert wide,
And living land was left behind.

"Light down, light down, now, true Thomas,
And lean your head upon my knee;
Abide and rest a little space,
And I will show you ferlies three.

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JAMIESON.

'O see you not yon narrow road,
So thick beset with thorns and briers?—
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it there's few inquires.

"And see ye not yon braid, braid road,
That lies across yon lily leven?
That is the path of wickedness,
Though some call it the road to heaven.

"And see ye not that bonny road,
That winds about the fernie brae?
That is the road to fair Elfland,
Where you and I this night maun gae.

"But, Thomas, ye maun hald your tongue,
Whatever ye may hear or see;
For gin a word ye should chance to speak,
You will ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

For forty days and forty nights
He wude through red blood to the knee;

And he saw neither sun nor moon
But heard the roaring of the sea.

He's gotten a coat o' the even cloth,
And a pair of shoes of velvet green;
And till seven years were past and gone,
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

SCOTT.

"O see ye not yon narrow road,
So thick beset with thorns and briers?
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it but few enquires.

"And see ye not that braid braid road,
That lies across that lily levin?
That is the path of wickedness,
Though some call it the road to heaven.

"And see ye not that bonny road,
That winds about the fernie brae?
That is the road to fair Elfland,
Where thou and I this night maun gae.

"But Thomas ye maun hold your tongue,
Whatever ye may hear or see;
For, if you speak a word in Elflyn land,
Ye'll ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

O they rade on, and farther on,
And they waded through rivers aboon the knee,
And they saw neither sun nor moon,
But they heard the roaring of the sea.

It was mirk mirk night, and there was nae stern light,
And they waded through red blude to the knee;
For a' the blude that's shed on earth
Rins through the springs o' that countrie.

Syne they came to a garden green,
And she pu'd an apple frae a tree—
"Take this for thy wages, true Thomas:
It will give thee the tongue that can never lee."

"My tongue is mine ain," true Thomas said;
"A gudely gift ye wad gie to me!
I neither dought to buy nor sell,
At fair or tryst where I may be.

"I dought neither speak to prince or peer,
Nor ask of grace from fair ladye."—
"Now ask thy peace!" the lady said,
"For as I say, so must it be."—

He has gotten a coat of the even cloth,
And a pair of shoes of velvet green;
And till seven years were gane and past
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

The three fyttes of Thomas of Erceldoune are preserved in four MSS.: the Thornton MS. in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral; the MS. Ff. 5. 48. in the University Library, Cambridge; the Cotton MS., Vitellius E. x.; and the Lansdowne MS. 762, in the British Museum; while the prophecies alone, without the introductory Fytt I., are found in a fifth, the Sloane MS. 2578, also in the British Museum.

The Thornton MS. (Lincoln A. 1. 17.) is a well-known repository of romances and devotional pieces in the Northern dialect, many of which have already been printed by the Early English Text Society, written mainly by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, about A.D. 1430—1440. It "is written on 314 leaves of paper, in a somewhat small hand, in folio, measuring 11½ in. by 8¼; but unfortunately imperfect both at the beginning and end, and also wanting leaves in a few other places." The first piece which it contains, a "Life of Alexander the Great," appears to be in an older hand, and to have been originally a distinct MS. In it the letters "þ" and "y" are distinct; while elsewhere in the MS. they are represented by the same character, except in the Romance of *Syr Perecyuelle of Galles*, also in a different hand. "Tomas of Ersseldowne" occupies nine pages, beginning at top of leaf 149, back, and ending on the 2nd column of leaf 153, back, with 15 lines, and the remainder of the column blank. It is written in double columns of from 36 to 40 lines in a column. All these leaves are more or less injured; leaf 149 very slightly so, at the lower corner, where the beginnings of ll. 35, 36 are worn off. In leaf 150, the bottom lines in the outer columns—178 on the front, and 218 on the back—are torn through; at bottom of leaf 151, the ends of lines 336—339 and the beginnings of lines 377—379 are torn off. Leaf 152 is greatly injured, the lower part having been torn out by a tear extending diagonally across from beginning of l. 446 to end of l. 440, and from beginning of l. 478 to end of 475 on the front, and from beginning of l. 512 to end of 514, and beginning of l. 555 to end of 560 on the back. Of leaf 153 there remains only a fragment containing on the front 20 lines of the first column nearly entire, the first letters of 15 more, and the four last with the whole of col. 2 gone; on the back similarly, col. 1 is gone entirely, and col. 2 wants a large part of the beginnings of the lines. The mutilated state of this MS. is the more to be regretted, that it occurs at a part of the poem originally found in the Thornton only, and now therefore entirely lost.

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This MS. presents, on the whole, a very careful and accurate text; only in a few places, as mentioned in the subsequent notes, Robert Thornton has misread his original, which can however generally be restored. It is, in date probably, in form certainly, the oldest of the existing MSS., retaining the original Northern form of the language little altered; while it is free from most of the corruptions with which the next two MSS., the Cambridge and Cotton, abound.

MS. CAMBRIDGE, Ff. 5. 48. A paper manuscript in quarto, of 140 leaves, with about 30 lines on a page, English handwriting of the middle of the 15th century. It consists of five parts, whereof the first, leaves 1—66, contains 13 different pieces, the majority being devotional poems; the second, leaves 67—78, five pieces similar in character; part third, leaves 79—94, Homilies for St Michael's day, the feast of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, &c.; part 4, leaves 95—114, four articles, of which the first is entitled *Principium Anglie;* and part 5, leaves 115—140, four articles, of which the second (No. 26 in the MS.) is *Thomas of Erseldoun.* It begins without any title on leaf 119 *a*, and ends leaf 128 *b*, occupying nearly 10 leaves, in single columns. The writing, besides confusing *o* and *e*, *c* and *t*, which in most cases can only be distinguished by the sense, is in many places so much effaced as to present great difficulties to the reader. R. Jamieson, who printed it in his *Ballads and Songs* at the beginning of the present century, says: "The Cambridge MS. has suffered by rain-water nearly as much as the Cotton has by fire, a great part of each page having become illegible by the total disappearance of the ink. By wetting it, however, with a composition which he procured from a bookseller and stationer in Cambridge, the writing was so far restored in most places, that, with much poring and the assistance of a magnifying glass, he was able to make it out pretty clearly. The greatest difficulty he met with was from the unlucky zeal and industry of some person who long ago, and in a hand nearly resembling the original, had endeavoured to fill up the chasms, and, as appeared upon the revival of the old writing, had generally mistaken the sense, and done much more harm than good." Jamieson little thought that his own "unlucky zeal and industry" would in process of time entitle him to equal or even greater reprobation, for the "composition," which he so naïvely confesses to have applied to the MS., has dried black, and both disastrously disfigured the pages and seriously increased their illegibility. Nevertheless, with the experienced help of Mr Bradshaw, to whose kindness words fail to do justice, I have been enabled to reproduce the text with greater accuracy than either of its previous editors, leaving only a very few blanks where words are quite illegible. It presents a Southernized version of the

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original, with the sense not seldom, and the rhyme and phraseology often, sacrificed in transliteration (as where *myght and mayne* becomes *mode and mone*, in order to rhyme with *gone*). It has also many scribal blunders, due apparently to its transcriber not being able perfectly to read his original. In its extent it often agrees with the Thornton MS. as against later interpolations and omissions, but it has also large omissions of its own. Where its readings differ from the Thornton, it is generally unsupported by the other MSS. In some places where it presents the greatest discrepancy, it can be seen that originally it had the same reading as T., but was subsequently altered, and this not always, as Jamieson thought, by some one trying to restore indistinct passages, for the original is quite distinct, but crossed through and something substituted. In several instances it misplaces one or more stanzas as to the order of which all the other MSS. agree. My opinion of its text is therefore different from that of Mr Halliwell, who calls it "the earliest and best," and attributes it to the early part of the 15th century, not to mention the idea of Mr Wright, who considered it of the age of Edward II. Nevertheless, it is a valuable MS., especially for those parts where the Thornton and Cotton are partially or wholly destroyed.

MS. Cotton, Vitellius E. x. "A paper volume in folio, in very bad condition, consisting of 242 leaves." This is one of the MSS. that suffered severely in the fire, and consists of charred fragments of greater or less extent of the original leaves, inlaid and rebound. It contains 26 different articles of the most varied character, in very different handwriting, but apparently all of the 15th century, a "Colloquium de rebus aulicis sub initio regni Edwardi IV.," "A sermon preached at the beginning of Parliament, anno 1483," and other similar sermons in the reigns of Edward V. or Richard III. The copy of Thomas of Erseldown which it contains is in a heavy clumsy handwriting of "about or slightly after 1450." It begins on the middle of leaf 240 *b*, with the rubric, "Incipit *pro*phecia Thome de Arseldon," and this page contains two columns of 30 lines each. But the rest of the poem is written in double lines across the page of about 50 (i. e. 100 lines) to the page, divided in the middle by a heavy red line, or (on leaves 241 *b*, 242 *a*, and part of 242 *b*) by a red paragraph mark. Occasionally the scribe has only got one line in, which throws him out, so that his following lines consist not of the two first and two last lines of a stanza respectively, but of the 2nd and 3rd, followed by the 4th and 1st of the next. The poem is written without a break from beginning to end, except that after line 301-2, line 309-10 (the first two of Fytte II.) immediately follows, but is struck out in red, and repeated after leaving a blank space

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of one line. Fytt I. thus wants its last three (i. e. six) lines. The poem ends at the very bottom of leaf 243 *a*, with the rubric . . . . *hecia thome de Arseldoune.* From the burning of the inner side of the leaves of the MS. scarcely one line of the poem is perfect; very often half the double line is burned away, so that when printed in single lines it shows in many places only the alternate ones. See lines 221, &c. The text of this MS., so far as it goes, agrees closely with the Thornton, but it omits stanzas very often, and, like all the MSS. except the Thornton, it has not ll. 577—604. It has also some singular additions of its own, as lines 109—116, and others near the end.

MS. LANSDOWNE 792, a small 4to MS. of 99 leaves of mixed parchment and paper, of about 1524—30. It contains a memorandum of the different orders of Friars in London, and their quarters, as then existing, "the writing of Valeraunce upon the xxi conjunccion of planetes in the moneth of February, the yere of our Lord 1524;" a few lines satirizing the craving for prophecies, ending

your tethe whet in this bone
Amonge you euerychone
And lett Colen' cloute alone.
The prophecy of Skylton
1529

also a prediction of signs and prodigies to happen

In the yere of our lorde I vnderstande
xv^{c} & one and thirty folowand.

as well as various similar predictions for later years. The second half of the MS. consists almost entirely of prophetic literature, articles 45, 61—74, 79, 82, 83, being of this description. "Thomas of Arsildoun" begins without title on middle of leaf 24 *a*, and breaks off on leaf 31 *a* with the first line of a stanza, some 70 lines from the end, and leaving a blank space of several lines' extent on the page. Leaves 24—28 are paper, 29—31 parchment. The writing is very neat and distinct, in single columns of 32 lines to the page, and without a single break from beginning to end, or any larger letter at the fyttes; but it is divided (in this MS. only) into double stanzas of eight lines, by paragraph marks down the margin. The omission of two lines in the 6th stanza (ll. 71, 72) causes the paragraph marks for a short way to be displaced. In addition to its unfinished ending, this MS. omits long passages, and has three additions of its own, lines 141—156, with its counterpart 237—248, and the reference to Robert II., l. 465—468.

MS. SLOANE 2578 is a paper MS. of Prophecies, small 4to (8¼ × 6 in.) of 117 leaves, of the year 1547. It contains several (unfulfilled) predictions of prodigies

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for the years 1550, 1553, and 1556; and the following table, which no doubt applies to the year of its compilation (leaf 31):

The Sum of y^e^ Age of ye worlde vnto y^e^ yeare of Christ 1547 after the computacion

of	the Ebrues	5509
	mirandula	5041
	Eusebius	6737
	Augustyne	6891
	alphonse	8522

I copy from the Catalogue the following abstract of its contents, with additions of my own:—

1. Alphabetical index of persons, places, and subjects to the ensuing collection, ff. 1—4.
2. Prophecies relative to events in English History, written in verse and prose. Among them the following may be distinguished.

[Of him that shall wyne the holy cross, leaf 5, *a*]

The second canto of the prophetic rhymes of Thomas of Ercildon, ff. 6—11 *b*.

The prophecy of Cadar and Sibilla, ff. 12—15. Beginning:—

"Cadar and Sibell bothe of them sayes
The name of Fraunce in his writinge
Kinge to be clepid in many case
In all his lyfe and his lykinge."

Ending:

"As traytours attainte all shalbe tyde
And thus their sorrow shall wax newe."

Extract from a prophecy by Merlin, ff. 15 *b*—17 *a*. Begins:

"When the cock of the northe hathe buylde his neaste."

[See ante, p. xxxii.] Ends:

"desteny shall him not dere."

[Many leaves of short prose prophecies, including those in Appendix II., and at p. lxxx, of this volume; also the computation of the year 1547 already given.]

Prophecy of events to happen in the year 1553, ff. 61—64. Begins:

"To judge the trouthe as before us hathe bene,
So judge we maye all that shall us beseme."

Stanzas f. 64. Begins:

"An Egle shall flye
Up into the Skye
With fyer in his mowthe."

Of the York and Lancaster contests, ff. 68—79. Begins:

"The Scotts shall ryse and make ado
But the Bull shall purvey therfore,
That they shall vanishe & home againe go
And forthink ther rysinge for evermore."

A prophecy of events in English History, ff. 79 *b*—86. Begins:

"The lande of Albion shall come to corruption by the synne of pride, letcherye, herysye and tratorye."

A prophecy of the persecutions of the Church, ff. 86—88 *b*. Begins:

"In the yere of our Lorde God a M.v^c^ lxv a great tyrant ageynste the Church with might and mayne shall sley many of the Churche."

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Another copy of the verses begins:
"When the cocke of the Northe hathe bilde his neste."—f. 100 *b*.

3. A key to the prophecies comprised in the foregoing collection, ff. 112 *b*—116.

It might be worth while for one of our publishing societies to print the whole of this MS., as illustrating one phase of English thought in the middle of the 16th century. One of the prose prophecies which specially illustrates Fytt III. of Thomas of Erceldoun is here added in Appendix II., and two other short ones will be found in the Notes.

The prophecy of Erceldoun begins at top of leaf 6 *a*, with the heading,

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij^{d} fytt I saye
of *Sir* thomas of Arseldon.

It is written in single columns of 28 lines each, uninterrupted by a single break, and ends at foot of leaf 11 *b* with the word "Finis." A peculiarity of the text of this MS. is the very frequent omission of the first line of a stanza, to supply the place of which another is generally interpolated at the end, or some lines farther on, so as to complete the rhyme. The conclusion is also very much abridged, the writer seemingly being impatient of everything not prophetic. In other respects the text agrees very closely with the Thornton MS. both in its extent and readings, always excepting lines 577—604, found only in that MS.

PRINTED EDITIONS.

Fytte I. of *Thomas of Erseldoune* was printed by Scott from the fragmentary Cotton MS. as a note or Appendix to the so-called "traditional ballad" in the *Border Minstrelsy*.

The whole poem was shortly after printed by Robert Jamieson in his *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce editions*, Edin. 1806, from the Cambridge MS., with collations from the Lincoln and Cotton MSS. Jamieson's edition presents many misreadings and not a few wanton alterations of the text.

It was also printed in full by David Laing, Esq., LL.D., in his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edin. 1822, from the Lincoln MS., with the blanks of that manuscript partially supplied from the Cambridge text.

In 1845 it was printed by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., in his "Illustrations of the

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Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream" for the "Shakespeare Society The Editor used the Cambridge MS. (which he calls the "earliest and best," ar attributes to "the early part of the 15th century"), but printed it with much mo care than had been done by Jamieson. He also first indicated the existence copies of the poem in the Lansdowne and Sloane MSS., mentioning at the sam time a later transcript to be found in MS. Rawlinson C. 258, in the Bodleia Library. But a careful examination of this MS. (now C. 813) by Mr Co shows that it contains no copy of Thomas of Erceldoune, but that its second ha consists of prophecies, embracing many of those found in Lansdowne 792 an Sloane 2578, some of which quote Thomas's authority. The Rawlinson C. MSS have lately been catalogued, and no copy of "Thomas of Erceldoune" appear among them.

Finally, Professor F. J. Child of Harvard University, U.S., in the first volum of his *English and Scottish Ballads*, London, 1861, reprinted the first fytte of the Thornton text from Dr Laing's edition of 1822, with corrections. He endorses Dr Laing's opinion that the Thornton is the earliest text, and "in every respect preferable to that of either of the other manuscripts;" an opinion, the correctness of which will be apparent on a very slight examination of the following pages.

THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE following text exhibits all the MSS. printed in parallel columns. In Fytte I., where there are only four versions, they are printed in the following order: THORNTON, COTTON: LANSDOWNE, CAMBRIDGE. But from Fytte II., where the SLOANE MS. begins, it takes the place of the Cotton in the parallels, and the fragmentary Cotton text is printed below. Up to line 88 of this edition, the lines of the Cotton text represent those of the MS., but at that point the latter begins to be written in double lines across the page, so that the printed lines represent the half lines of the MS. indicated by a red paragraph mark in middle of the line. This will explain why, in many places, full lines alternate with defective ones or blank spaces, where the beginning or end of the MS. lines are burned. But from Fytte II., where the Cotton text occupies the foot of the page, the lines are printed as in the MS. with a dot separating the two halves, though for convenience of reference they are numbered to agree with the single lines above. I have used the thorn (þ) all through wherever the MSS. represent *th* by a single character,

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whether or not this is identical in form with the *y* of the MS. In the Lincoln MS., the *thorn* is identical with the *y*, and except at the beginning of a line is regularly used for *th* in the 2nd personal pronoun and demonstrative words, according to the ordinary MS. usage. In the Cambridge and Cotton MSS., where also the þ is in form identical with the *y*, its use for *th* is still more regular. The Lansdowne uses the thorn sparingly, but where it does occur it is usually a true þ with a tall head, and quite distinct from *y*. Its usual place is here in the 2nd personal pronoun forms, also often in *oþer, anoþer;* and occasionally it turns up in strange positions, as in *fryþ*, l. 319; *þryue* and *þe*, l. 344; *þryue* again 464; *boþe*, l. 525.[1] In the Sloane MS. the thorn is more frequent, and always like a *y*.

The punctuation and inverted commas are the Editor's, but the capital letters are as in the MSS. In the Cambridge and Lansdowne MSS., however, it is often doubtful to say whether the initial A is meant for a capital or not; both in form and size, it has a sort of medial or hybrid character which passes insensibly into either the capital or small letter. In the Thornton the single and final *i* has always a tail extending below the line. It is here printed 'j'; but of course it was not a distinct letter, only a "distinguished *i*" used when the letter stood alone, or at the end of a word to render it more prominent. The barred Ħ and ħ, tagged n), and other marked letters, whose meaning—if they had any—is doubtful, are retained in the text. Letters and words accidentally omitted, illegible, obscure, or in any way doubtful, are enclosed in brackets. These will be found very frequent in the Cambridge text for reasons already given in describing that MS.; and it will be understood that all words there enclosed in brackets indicate indistinct places in the MS., as to the reading of which there exists a reasonable certainty. Where I have put dots the words are quite gone, although comparison with the other texts there also generally indicates what is to be supplied.

On account of the different extent of the poem in the various MSS., and the fact that passages which are found in one are wanting in another, the arrangement of the texts in parallel columns necessitates frequent breaks in every text, and in almost every page. *There are no breaks or paragraphs in the MSS.*, which are written *straight on uninterruptedly*, with no recognition of any omitted passages. The stanzas, if indicated, are shown only by lines connecting the ends of the rhyming lines, except in the Lansdowne, which indicates them by marginal paragraph

[1] Through an error in the press the thorn appears in the printed text in the following places where the MS. has *th* full: l. 44 *the*, 108 *whethere*, 133 *clothyng*, 135 *other*, 139, 140 *the*, 171 *that*, 188 *the*, 231 *the*, 261 *The*, 284 *thre*, 292 *the*, 296 *There*, 449 *The*, 544 *the*. In every other place it is as in the MS.

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marks. There are no breaks even at the beginnings of Fyttes II. and III., though some of the MSS. commence these with large initial letters as shown in the printing.

In a few places where the Cambridge MS. misplaces stanzas, so that the parallel arrangement cannot be maintained, the transposition is carefully noted by the numbering of the lines, as, for example, ll. 264, 272; 628, 640.

The poem is really in 8-syllabic four-line stanzas, the first line rhyming with the third and the second with the fourth—ordinary "Long Metre" indeed—and would have been here printed as such, but for difficulties occurring where the second line of one text answers to the first of another, as is the case several times with the Sloane MS.

In numbering the lines, every line and stanza is counted that occurs in any MS., except such as are clearly accidental interpolations, like the two lines in the Thornton, between l. 136 and 137, or those added in the Sloane MS. to make up for a line previously omitted. To this numbering, which is applicable to all the texts, all references are made. To show, however, what would be the actual numbering of the separate texts, and to what lines of each any given lines of the printed edition answer, the following Collation is added, which will also serve to show more distinctly the passages present and absent in each MS. In cases where a different order of stanzas or lines occurs in different MSS., I have followed the order of the majority, or if there are only two texts, that which the sense seemed to recommend.

COLLATION

OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE,

showing the lines present and absent in the various MSS., and the actual lines in each, which answer to each other and to those numbered in the printed text.

The black line indicates the absence of the passage in that MS.

(For example, the *five* lines, 89—93 of the printed text, represent ll. 81—85 of the Thornton MS., 59—63 of the Lansdowne, 61—65 of the Cambridge, and originally answered to 61—65 of the Cotton, destroyed through the partial burning of the MS. They are altogether *wanting* in the Sloane.

The *four* lines 229—232 represent 199—202 Thornton, 169—172 Cotton, 183—186 Lansdowne, 173—176 Cambridge, in which MS. they are misplaced between ll. 224 and 225 of the general numbering.)

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PROLOGUE.

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
1—24	1—24	——	——	——	——	24

FYTT I.

25—41	25—41	——	1—17	1—17	1—17	17
42—45	——	——	——	18—21	——	4
46—64	42—60	——	18—36	22—40	18—36	19
65—68	——	——	37—40	——	37—40	4
69	(61) accidentally omitted	——	41	41	41	1
70	62	——	42	42	42	1
71—72	63—64	——	43—44	——	43—44	2
73—88	65—80	——	45—60	43—58	45—60	16
89—93	81—85	——	(61—65)lost	59—63	61—65	5
94—108	86—100	——	66—80	64—78	66—80	15
109—116	——	——	81—88	——	——	8
117—136	101—120	——	89—108	79—98	81—100	20
(unnumbered)	121—122	——	——	——	——	[2]
137—140	123—126	——	109—112	99—102	101—104	4
141—156	——	——	——	103—118	——	16
157—160	127—130	——	113—116	119—122	105—108	4
161—164	131—134	——	——	——	109—112	4
165—188	135—158	——	117—140	123—146	113—136	24
189—192	159—162	——	——	147—150	137—140	4
193—196	163—166	——	141—144	151—154	141—144	4
197—200	167—170	——	——	——	145—148	4
201—208	171—178	——	145—152	155—162	149—156	8
209—212	179—182	——	——	163—166	157—160	4
213—224	183—194	——	153—164	167—178	161—172	12
[229—232]	(see below)	——	(see below)	(see below)	173—176	[4]
225—228	195—198	——	165—168	179—182	177—180	4
229—232	199—202	——	169—172	183—186	(see above)	4
233—236	203—206	——	173—176	189—190	181—184	4
237—248	——	——	——	193—202	——	12
249—260	207—218	——	177—188	203—214	185—196	12
[269—272]	(see below)	——	(see below)	(see below)	197—200	[4]

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PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
261—268	219—226	——	189—196	215—222	201—208	8
269—272	227—230	——	197—200	223—226	(see above)	4
273—302	231—260	——	201—230	227—256	209—238	30
303—308	261—266	——	——	257—262	238—244	6
			FYTT II.			
309—316	267—274	1—8	237—244	261—270	245—252	8
317—320	275—278	9—12	——	269—274	253—256	4
321—324	279—282	13—16	245—248	273—278	257—260	4
325—328	283—286	17—20	249—252	——	261—264	4
329	287	(21) accidentally omitted	253	——	265	1
330—332	288—290	22—24	254—256	——	266—268	3
333—336	291—294	25—28	——	——	269—272	4
337—340	295—298	29—32	257—260	——	273—276	4
341—352	299—310	33—44	261—272	277—290	277—288	12
353—356	311—314	45—48	——	——	289—292	4
357—360	315—318	49—52	273—276	289—292	293—296	4
361—364	319—322	53—56	277—280	293—298	*297—300	4
365—372	323—330	57—64	281—288	297—306	301—308	8
373—376	——	——	——	——	309—312	4
377—384	331—338	65—72	289—296	305—314	313—320	8
[397—400]	(see below)	(see below)	297—300	(see below)	——	[4]
385—388	339—342	73—76	——	313—318	321—324	4
389—396	343—350	77—84	301—308	317—326	——	8
397—400	351—354	85—88	(see above)	325—330	——	4
401—412	355—366	89—100	309—320	329—342	——	12
413—416	367—370	101—104	——	341—346	——	4
417—418	371—372	105—106	——	345—348	325—326	2
419—420	373—374	107—108	321—322	347—350	327—328	2
421—422	375—376	——	323—324	349—352	329—330	2
423—424	377—378	——	325—326	351—354	——	2
425—426	379—380	109—110	327—328	355—356	——	2
427—428	381—382	111—112	329—330	357—358	331—332	2
(extra lines)	——	——	331—332	——	——	[2]
429—430	383—384	113—114	333—334	——	333—334	2
431—432	——	115—116	335—336	——	335—336	2

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PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
433—440	385—392	117—124	337—344	359—366	337—344	8
441	393	125	345	367	——	1
442	394	——	346	368	——	1
443—450	395—402	126—133	347—354	369—376	——	8
(extra line)	——	134	——	——	——	[1]
451—466	403—418	135—150	355—370	377—392	——	16
467—470	——	——	——	393—396	——	4
471—472	419—420	151—152	371—372	397—398	——	2
473—474	421—422	153—154	(see below)	399—400	——	2
475—476	423—424	155—156	373—374	401—402	——	2
[473—474]	(see above)	(see above)	375—376	(see above)	——	[2]
477—478	425—426	157—158	377—378	403—404	345—346	2
479—480	(427—428)	159—160	379—380	405—406	347—348	2
481	(429)	——	381	407	349	1
482—484	(430—432)	161—163	382—384	408—410	350—352	3
[extra]	——	164	——	——	——	[1]
485—488	(433—436)	165—168	385—388	411—414	353—356	4
		FYTT III.				
489—492	437—440	——	389—392	415—418	——	4
493—500	441—448	169—176	393—400	419—426	357—364	8
501—504	449—452	177—180	401—404	427—430	——	4
505—508	453—456	181—184	405—408	——	365—368	4
509—512	457—460	185—188	409—412	431—434	369—372	4
513—514	458—462	189—190	413—414	435—436	——	2
515—524	(463—472)	191—200	415—424	437—446	——	10
525—527	(473—475)	201—203	425—427	447—449	373—375	3
528	476	204	428	450	376	1
529	477	——	429	451	377	1
530—536	478—484	205—211	430—436	452—458	378—384	7
[extra]	——	212	——	——	——	[1]
537—548	485—496	213—224	437—448	459—470	——	12
549—552	497—500	225—228	——	——	385—388	4
553—560	501—508	229—236	449—456	——	389—396	8
561—564	——	——	(457—460	——	397—400	4
565—571	(509—515)	237—243	461—467)	——	401—407	7

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PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
572—576	516—520	244—248	468—472	——	408—412	5
577—591	525—535	——	——	——	——	15
592—604	(536—548)	——	——	——	——	13
605—606	(549—550)	249—250	473—474	——	413—414	2
607—608	(551—552)	251—252	475—476	——	415—416	2
609—614	(553—558)	253—258	477—482	471—476	417—422	6
615—616	(559—560)	——	483—484	477—478	423—424	2
617—620	(561—564)	259—262	485—488	479—482	425—428	4
[637—644]	( )	(see below)	(see below)	——	*429—436	[8]
621—628	(565—572)	263—270	489—496	483—490	437—444	8
629	(573)	*271	497	491	445	1
630—632	(574—576)	*272—274	498—500	——	446—448	3
633—636	(577—580)	275—278	501—504	——	——	4
637—640	(581—584)	*279—282	——	——	(see above)	4
641—644	(585—588)	*283—286	505—508	——	(see above)	4
645—660	(589—604)	287—302	509—524	——	449—464	16
661—664	(605—608)	——	525—528	——	465—468	4
665—677	(609—621)	303—315	529—541	——	469—481	13
678—680	622—624	316—318	542—544	——	482—484	3
681—684	——	——	545—548	——	——	4
685—686	625—626	319—320	549—550	——	——	2
687—688	627—628	——	551—552	——	——	2
689—692	——	——	553—556	——	——	4
693—695	629—631	——	557—559	——	485—487	3
696	632	321	560	——	488	1
697—700	633—636	——	561—564	——	489—492	4

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NOTES TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY.

The PROLOGUE is found only in the Thornton MS., and is presumably no part of the Romance in its original form, although from its occurrence in the earliest MS. it must be little later than the completion of the poem itself as we now have it. It takes the form of a prelude by a minstrel or reciter to commend the poem to the attention of his audience who are twice committed as "ynglyschemen" to the safe keeping of Christ. Unless the word may have been changed for "Scottismen," the prologue is therefore the addition of a northern English author. Its dialect is pure Northern, less altered even than the text itself.

L. 1 *lystyns*, l. 2 *takis*, l. 10, 12 *hase*. In the Northern dialect since the 12th or 13th century the plural of the present indicative and imperative has ended in *-s*, when *unaccompanied* by its proper pronoun *we*, *ye*, *they*. When these are present there is no termination. See *Dialect of Southern Scotland*, pp. 211—214.

l. 2. *takis gude tente*, take good heed; *tent*, *no.*, care, attention, *vb.* to *attend*, *take heed*; "Tent me, billie—there 's a gullie!"—*Burns.*

l. 7. *pristly*, readily, quickly, actively. l. 8. *blyne*, cease.

l. 11. *sere*, various, several. l. 15. *tyte*, soon, quick.

l. 16. *sythene*, for the Northern *sen*, *syne*, as in l. 6, which would improve the rhyme

l. 22. *by-leue*, remain; German *bleiben*, Dutch *b-lijven*.

FYTTE I.

l. 25—28. The Cotton differs considerably from the others, Th. and Ca. showing the original reading.

l. 25. *Endres-day* = *ender day*, this by-gone day. Icel. *endr*, of yore, formerly. Lat. *ante*.

"As I myselfe lay this enderz nyght
All alone withowten any fere."—*MS. Rawl. C.* 813, *leaf* 54.

l. 26. *grykyng*, the graying, or gray of the morning:

"It was na *gray* day-licht."

l. 28. *Huntle bankys*, on Eildon Hills, near Melrose. See Introduction, p. li.

l. 30. *Mawes*, *mavys*; L. corruptly *maner* for *maues*, the mavis or song thrush; but the *throstyll* of the preceding line is also the thrush, which L. accordingly changes into the *merle* or blackbird. *menyde*, Co. corruptly *movyde*, bemoaned herself, sung plaintively.

l. 30, 32. *songe*, *ronge*, doubtless originally the Northern sang, rang, as in l. 56.

l. 31. The *Wodewale*, the wood-lark. *beryde*, Ca. corruptly *farde*, vociferated, made

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a noise; "the rumour of rammasche foulis and of beystis that maid grete *beir*."—*Compl. of Scotl.*, p. 38, l. 24.

l. 32. *shawys* in L. for *wode* of others, still used as an equivalent, in the north. Isl. *skóg*, Dan. *skov*.

l. 36. *louely*, Ca. and L., is no doubt the original, corrupted by T. to *longe*, and glossed by Co. as *fayre*. In Ca. *lonely* would be as good a reading of MS., but was *lonely* = *al-onely*, then in existence?

l. 37. *ȝogh*, Co. for *þogh*, the *þ* and *ȝ* frequently confounded by ignorant scribes.

l. 38. *wrabbe and wrye: wrobbe, wrabbe* = warble? sing; *wry* = *wray*, bewray, reveal. Or perhaps Sc. *wrable, warble, wurble*, to wriggle, and *wrye*, to twist; to wriggle and twist *with the tongue* in the attempt to find language to describe her.

l. 40. *askryed, skryed, discryued*, described; Fr. *escri-re, descri-re*.

l. 41—72. The description of the lady, in which T. and Ca. closely agree, varies much in Co. and L., the latter inserting l. 42—45.

l. 46—48. *none, schone, bone, stone*, in pure Northern would be *nane, schane, bane, stane;* which the original doubtless had. See ll. 81, 83; 345, 347.

l. 49. *Selle, sadyl, sege*, equivalents, the latter properly a seat (of honour). *Roelle bone*, called also *rewel bone, rowel bone, reuylle bone*, "an unknown material of which saddles especially are in the romances said to be made." See Chaucer's "Sir Topas," which presents several points of contact with the description here:—

"His jambeux were of cuirbouly,
His swerdes sheth of ivory,
His helme of latoun bright,
His sadel was of rewel-bone,
His bridel as the sonne shone,
Or as the mone light.
His spere was of fin cypress
That bodeth werre, and nothing pees,
The hed ful sharpe y-ground;
His stede was all dapple gray,
It goth an aumble in the way
Fully softely and round
In lond."

Rev. W. W. Skeat suggests that "*rowel* = Latin *rotella*, Fr. *rouelle*, i. e. bone rounded and polished, for the front or peak of the saddle."

l. 52. *Crapotee*, toad stone: smaragdus or emerald, "which often contains a flaw, in shape suggesting a toad." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* has "Crepawnde, or crapawnde, precyous stone (crepaud, P.) Samaragdus."

Note. "Crapaude, a precious stone, crapaudine." Palsgrave. Cotgrave explains crapaudine as signifying "the stone chelonitis, or the toad stone." In the Metrical Romance of Emare is described a rich vesture, thickly set with gems, rubies, topaze, "*crapowtes* and nakette;" the word is also written *crapawtes*. More detailed information will be found in Gesner, de quadrup. ovip. II. 9. See also Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, "As You Like It," Act 2, Sc. i.; and the word "toadstone" in Nares' Glossary.

l. 53. *Stones of Oryente*, Eastern or Oriental gems; the name may have been given definitely to some stones or varieties of stones only found in the East, as the *Turquoise*, which derives its name (*pierre turquoise*) from Turkestan, where alone it is found. "The name *Oriental Emerald* is given to a very rare beautiful and precious green variety of Sapphire." "The finest red *rubies* are generally called *Oriental Rubies*." So also in "Alliterative Poems," edited by Dr Morris, we have

"þe grauayl that on grounde can grynde
Wern precious *perlez of oryente*."

Oryons in Ca. may be *oryens*, as *o* and *e* are generally indistinguishable in this MS.

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l. 54. *hang*, Northern past tense of *hing*.

l. 55, 56 are properly wanting in L., but lines 71, 72 are brought from their own place instead; ll. 57—60 are quite altered in L. and Co.

l. 56. *a whylle, one* while; indef. article and numeral, identical in N. dialect.

l. 57. *garthes*, girths or garters?

l. 60. *perelle*, pearl; Ca. *perry, pierreries*, jewels, precious stones.

l. 61. *payetrelle*, "breast-leather of a horse"; Fr. *poitrail;* L. corruptly *parrell*, apparel.

Iral, T. *jral fyne*, Ca. *riall fyne*, Co. *yra* . . . . . L. *Alarane;* the original probably, *Iral-stane*, rhyming with *schane*. So in the "Anturs of Arthur at Tarnwathelan," the Ireland MS. has

"Betun downe berels, in bordurs so bryȝte
That with *stones iraille* were strencult and strauen,
Frettut with fyne gold that failis in the fiȝte."

And the Thornton MS. of the same:—

"*Stones of iral* they strenkel, and strewe,
Stiþe stapeles of stele þey strike don stiȝt."

I can get no light on *iral-stane;* the scribes also seem not to have understood it, and hence their alterations, *rial, alarane*, &c.

l. 62. *Orphare*, orfevrie, goldsmiths' work; Lat. *aurifaber*, Fr. *orfèvre*, a goldsmith.

l. 63. *Reler* in L. perhaps corrupt for *silver*, as *gold*, which the others have, had been already put in the rhyming line.

l. 65—68 in Co. look like a variation of the stanza before, with the lines,

"A semly syȝt it w[as to se]
In euery joynt [hang bellis thre]."

l. 65. Ca. for iij, *four* was originally written and struck out.

l. 67—70 in Ca. are clearly an awkward interpolation in the midst of an original stanza; the lines are omitted in MS., but written at side and foot with marks of insertion.

l. 68. *lire* in Ca. (A.S. *hleor*) face, cheek.

l. 69. *grewe hound*, the Grey hound or Greek hound, *Canis Graius*, still called in Scotland a *Grewe*, which was the Older Scotch for a *Greek*.

l. 70. *rache*, a hound that follows by the *scent*, as the Grewe does by *sight*.

l. 71. *halse*, neck; A.S. *heals*.

l. 72. *flone*, properly *flane*, to rhyme with *rane* above, an arrow; A.S. *flán*.

l. 74. *ane* semely tree, bespeaks a Scotch original.

l. 75. *He sayd:* so l. 87, *and sayd;* l. 157, *scho sayd;* l. 161, *And sayd*. These words, as in the old Romances generally, are *extra-metrical*, and are rather directions to the reader or reciter, like the names of speakers in a Shakspearian play, or our modern inverted commas, than part of the poem, to be said or sung. They were *read* only by a change of tone or a gesture.

l. 75, 77. *ȝone*, Th.; the other MSS. show that this demonstrative was already little used in English proper.

l. 80, 84. *Eldoune tree*. A solitary tree that formerly stood on the slope of one of the three Eildon Hills near Melrose; see Introduction, p. l. Ca. does not understand the local reference, and makes *eldryne* = eldern, like oaken, beechen.

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l. 81. *radly, rathely;* A.S. *hrædlice*, quickly, readily. The Northern *rase*, when altered to *rose* in the other three MSS., ceases to rhyme with *sayes*.

l. 83. *als the storye sayes*, and again 123, *als the storye tellis full ryghte*, implies an older version of the tale than that in the poem. See Introduction, p. xxiv.

l. 87. *and sayd*, T. and Co. See l. 75, *n.*

l. 89. *mylde of thoght* in T. and L., shown by the rhyme to be the original.

l. 94. *payrelde*, apparelled.

l. 95. *fee* in the original sense of A.S. *feoh*, Germ. *Vieh*, beasts, cattle.

l. 96. *rynnys*, Northern pl. with noun subject, of which Ca. *rannen* for *rennen* is Midl., and L. *rennyng*, a scribal misconception of the latter.

l. 98. *balye* in Ca. mistake of scribe for *folye;* so l. 31, *farde* for *beird*.

l. 99. *wysse, wyce, wise*, rhymes with *price*. It is still always so pronounced in North.

l. 102. Ca. reads *let meb me be*.

l. 104. *synne* in T. probably an interpolation; gives rise to mistake in L. of *syne*, then, thereafter.

l. 106. L. read *dwelle*. l. 107. *trowche* = *trowthe*.

l. 108. *by leues*. See l. 22.

l. 109—116, interpolated in Co., are not in keeping with the context, but probably the boast which the lady fears was true to the manners of the age.

l. 115. *crystenty;* Fr. *chretienté*, Christendom.

> "Three blither lads that lang lone nicht
> Were never found in *Christendee*."—*Burns*.

l. 116. Co. *wryede*, accused, bewrayed; A.S. *wrézean, wrezod*.

l. 119. T. *chewys þe werre;* Co. *cheuyst*, achievest, succeedest, comest off, the worse; Ca. glosses *thryuist*, and L. corrupts to *chece hit*, perhaps *chesit*, chose!

l. 125. *the*[*e*] *lykes*, impersonal, *te delectat*.

> "At first in heart *it liked me* ill
> When the king praised his clerkly skill."—Scott, *Marmion*, vi. 15.

l. 126. *byrde*, bride, married lady; Piers Plowman has *burde, buirde, birde, berde; deel* = *dele*, deal, probably the original; Ca. has *dwel*.

l. 132. *are*, A.S. *ǽr*, ere, before.

l. 135. *hir a schanke blake*, her *one* leg black, her other grey. Ca. had originally,

> "þe too shanke was blak, þe toþur gray
> and alle hir body like þe leede."

which is the same as T. (*þe too, þe toþur* = *þet oo, þet-oþur*, the one, the other); but the second hand has altered it into the reading of the text, where *bloo, beten*, and *leed*, may be equally *blee, beton, lood*.

l. 139. *fasyd* in L., a scribal error for *fadyd*.

l. 141—156. L. The conduct attributed to Thomas is unworthy, and the whole scene out of keeping. The rhymes also break down into mere assonances.

l. 157. *scho sayd*, T. See l. 75, *n.*

l. 158. Ca. again brings in the *eldryne tre*.

l. 159. *gone* can hardly be original, as the pure Northern would be *gaa*. I suggest *wone* = dwell.

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l. 160. *Medill-erthe;* A.S. *middan-eard;* Isl. *mid-gard,* the Earth, as the *middle region* of the Old Northern cosmogony.

l. 161—164. Ca. has a remarkable variation, bringing out more clearly that Thomas invokes not the lady, but the *Queene of Heuene, Mary mylde.*

l. 167. *by-teche, be-teche;* A.S. *be-tæcan,* to deliver, commit.

l. 169. *Eldone Hill,* on the Tweed, near Melrose; a mountain mass divided into three summits. See Introduction, p. xlix. Ca. again says *eldryne tre,* but the latter word is erased, and *hill* substituted.

l. 170. *derne,* secret. Ca. has *grenewode tre,* the last word obliterated, and *lee* substituted.

l. 171. Ca. had originally,

"It was derk as mydnyght myrke,"

as in Th., but this is altered to,

"Wher hit was derk as any hell."

The former would seem to be the correct reading, though it rhymes with itself, instead of l. 169, and the attempt to make it rhyme with the latter has caused the three different readings in Ca., Co., and L.

l. 173. *montenans,* amount; glossed *space* in Ca., mistaken in L.

l. 176. *fowte* in Ca. looks like *fewte; fawte* is correct; Fr. *faute,* failure, want.

l. 177. *herbere,* garden of herbs or trees, enclosed garden, *later* summer-house. The original word appears to have been the O.Fr. *herbier,* a herbary, in O.E. *herber, erber;* but to have been confounded with the O.E. *herberȝe, hereberwe, herborwe, herbor, herber,* A.S. *hereberge,* Icel. *herbergi,* O.H.G. *heriberga,* harbour, shelter, hospitium. "*Wo bist du zur Herberge,*" John i. 38.—*Luther.* Then it has been misspelt in modern times *arbour* from its assumed connexion with *trees.* At Cavers, in Roxburghshire, there is a hill called the *Herber Law* or Pleasure-garden Hill (pronounced as in "to *herber* [harbour] thieves." The *Herbere* in the poem was clearly a garden of fruit trees. Note that *Orchard* (in South Sco. *Wurtshert*) now a *garden of fruit trees,* was originally also a *garden of herbs* or *vegetables, Wyrtȝeard.*

l. 180. *damasee,* the Damascene, or Damson:

"þer weore growyng so grene
þe Date wiþ the Damesene."—*Pystil of Swete Susanne.*

"The plum is a native of Caucasus and Asia Minor. Cultivated varieties, according to Pliny, were brought from Syria into Greece, and thence into Italy. Such was, for instance, the *Damson* or *Damascene* Plum, which came from *Damascus* in Syria, and was very early cultivated by the Romans."—*Treasury of Botany,* p. 932.

l. 181. *wyneberye,* the grape; A.S. *win-berize. pynnene* in L. is perhaps adjective from *pine,* but *fre* is no doubt for *tre.*

l. 182. T. *nyghtgale,* A.S. *nihtegale,* night-singer, night-gladdener; the others have the inserted *n,* nyghtyn-gale, found in the South as early as Chaucer.

l. 183. *payeioys;* Ital. *papagallo,* i.e. Pope-cock; Sp. *papagay;* O.Fr. *papegay,* Russian *popagay,* a parrot or "popinjay;" Sc. *Papingo.*

l. 191. *or,* ere, before; "*or* ever they came at the bottom of the den," Dan. vi. 24. *Or* is still the regular Northern form of *ere, antequam.*

l. 193. *hyghte,* call, command, *past* used for *present.*

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l. 199. *paye*, to pacify, please, satisfy, *and hence* pay; Lat. *pacare;* Ital. *pagare;* Fr. *payer.*

l. 201—216. The MSS. differ much in particulars, but, with exception of Co., all make *four* ways, which seem to be to heaven, purgatory, and hell, and (but coming first in the list) from purgatory to heaven, "whan synful sowlis haue duryd ther peyn."

l. 204. *rysse, ryce, rese, rise;* A.S. *hris*, twig, brushwood. Still in common use in N.

l. 209—212. Wanting in Co., and varies greatly in the others. *tene & traye*, pain and trouble; A.S. *teóna* and *trega. drye*, Ca. endure; A.S. *dreógan;* Sc. *dree.*

l. 219. *it bearis the belle*, occupies the first rank, surpasses all, alluding to the leader of a flock or herd which has a bell round its neck.

l. 223. *me ware leuer*, impersonal, *mihi fuerit satius*, I had rather = I *would* rather *have* it.

l. 225. Here Ca. transposes two stanzas, but the order is obvious. The lady takes the most certain means of preventing Thomas from divulging secrets by binding him to answer no one but her.

l. 230. L. *thirty bolde barons and thre:* this jingling combination of numbers distinguishes the later prophecies, and modern-antique ballads, but is not found in the earlier.

l. 231. *desse, deyce*, the raised daïs (O.Fr. *deis;* Lat. *discus*) at top of the hall.

l. 235. *as white as whelys bone*, the *ivory* of the narwhal or walrus.

l. 237—252. These inquisitive demands of Thomas are only in L., but seem old.

l. 250. *hir raches couplede*, her hounds having been coupled again.

l. 261. Ca. here again transposes three stanzas.

l. 267. T. *bryttened*, cut up, broke down; A.S. *brytan*, to break; *brytnian*, to dispense; L. *trytlege*, scribal error for *brytlning*, as in Ca.; *wode*, mad.

l. 274. *parde*, per deum.

l. 276. *My lufly lady sayd to me;* so all the older MSS. L. alone changes it into 3rd person,

"To hym spake that ladye fre."

l. 277. þe *buse* = (it) behoves thee; past tense, *bud, byd*, behoved; he *byd* be a fule!

l. 286. *thre ȝere;* Ca. says *seuen*, which is the traditional period.

l. 288. *skylle*, reason, cause, *as well as* the reasoning faculty.

l. 289. *to-morne*, still Northern English, "to-morn 't morn," to-morrow morning; Scotch *the morn.*

l. 290. *amange this folke will feche his feè*, refers to the common belief that the fairies "paid kane" to hell, by the sacrifice of one or more individuals to the devil every seventh year.

"Then wod I never tire, Janet,
In Elfish land to dwell;
But aye at every seven years
They pay the teind to hell;
And I'm sae fat and fair of flesh,
I fear twill be my-sell."

"I'd paid my kane seven times to hell
Ere you'd been won away."—*The Young Tamlane.*

l. 291. *hende*, gentle, *also* skilful.

l. 294. *hethyne*, hence; the scribes, with the exception of Co., misunderstand this Northern word, and write *heven.*

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l. 296. *I rede*, I counsel; A.S. *raedan;* Germ. *rathen.*

l. 200. *fowles singes;* see l. 1.

l. 301—304. This stanza, though in all, comes in very awkwardly, nor can I explain to what it refers.

l. 303. T. *Erlis;* Ca. *yrons*, an *erne's* or sea eagle's.

l. 306. *yon benttis browne.* L. distorts into *youre brwtes broume.*

l. 303—308. These lines are wanting in the Co. MS., which after l. 301-2 proceeds to l. 309-10, but this is first struck out, and then repeated after one blank line.

FYTTE II.

The Sloane MS. begins here. For the first 70 lines, the MSS. closely agree, though L. omits numerous passages, as all that about the Baliols, l. 324—340.

l. 313. *carpe*, speak, or sing. Thomas has the choice of excelling in instrumental, or in vocal (rather *oral*) accomplishments; he prefers the latter, "for tonge is chefe of mynstralsie."

l. 314. *chose*, the choice; often so spelled in Scotch.

> "in our Inglis rethorick the rose,
> As of Rubeis the Charbunckle bene *chose.*"—*Lyndesay, Papyngo*, 26.

l. 317. *spelle*, discourse; A.S. *spellian;* in Ca. corruptly *spill;* L. and S. gloss, *speke.*

l. 318. *lesynge*, lying, falsehood. *Lesynge thow sall neuer lee;* from this characteristic Erseldown derived the name of "True Thomas," generally given to him in the later prophecies and traditional rhymes.

l. 319. *frythe or fell*, enclosed field or open hill.

l. 324. *ferly*, a wonder, strange thing or event. Usually derived from A.S. *fǽrlic*, sudden; *fǽr*, fearful; but I think more truly both in form and meaning from A.S. *feorlic, feorlen*, far away, foreign, strange. Compare *strange* from *extraneus.*

l. 327. *wyte;* A.S. *wít-an*, to depart, decease. Ca. has *dwyne;* A.S. *dwín-an*, to pine, dwindle away.

l. 329. T. *baylliolfe* for *bayllıolse* or *baylliolfs;* Co. *bali*]*oves;* S. misreads *baly of;* Ca. scribal error *folkys;* see before, l. 101, *balye* for *foly.* The Baliols' blood, the family of John Baliol, the rival of Robert Bruce for the Scottish crown, and his son Edward, rival of David Bruce.

l. 331—332. The *Comyns, Barclays, Russells*, and *Friseals*, or *Frasers. Semewes* in Ca. is a very simple misreading of *Comenes* in old writing, and the *Sea-mews* suggest the *teals, telys*, probably for barclys, with the *ar* contracted, of the original. The *Comyns* and *Frasers* were prominent, though on different sides, during the English War in the minority of David II. David Cumyn, the dispossessed Earl of Athol, was one of Edward Baliol's leaders, when the latter invaded Scotland in 1332, was appointed viceroy of Scotland by Edward III. in 1335, and soon after slain in the forest of Kilblane, by Sir Andrew Moray, when, according to Buchanan, "fortissimus quisque Cuminianorum aut in praelio aut in fuga caesus est." This is the battle for which Barbour quotes a prophecy of the Rhymer, ante, p. xvii. Walter Cumyn was also slain in the Battle of Annan, 1332, and his brother Thomas executed after the battle. Of the Frasers, Buchanan has, "*Fraser* vel *Frisel*, cog. in varias familias tributum in quibus eminet Lovetiae, Saltonii, & Fraseriæ Reguli, cum suis quisque tribulibus."

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Alexander Fraser was one of the commanders at Dupplin, 1332; James and Simon Fraser, after capturing Perth from Baliol, were slain at Halidon Hill, 1333. Of the Barclays: in 1345 David de Berklay waylaid and assassinated William Bullock, the able English ecclesiastic so intimately connected with the intrigues of the period. Sir Walter de Berklay was also concerned in the plot against Robert Bruce, and tried before the Black Parliament of 1320, and in 1322, according to Fordun's Annals, "on the 1st of October, Andrew Barclay was taken, and having been convicted of treachery, underwent capital punishment." The *Russels* I cannot trace; and the word may be a scribal error for some of the other names conspicuous in the history of the period—the *Rosseis*, for instance.

l. 333. *wyte, dwyne.* See l. 327.

l. 335. *spraye*, to spread out, sprout out, like *spray* of water, or a *spray* of blossom; Platt-Deutsch *spreden, spreën;* G. *sprühen*, to sputter, flow forth.

l. 341—348. Thomas's inquiry is as to the issue of the doubtful contest between the Bruce and Baliol families, 1332—1355.

l. 341. *whatkyns*, of what kind; used adjectively, "what kind of" *qualis.*

l. 344. *thryue* and *thee* (A.S. *þéon*) are synonymous; S. changes to *vnthrive.*

l. 345. *none; tane* in l. 347 shows that the original had the Northern *nane.*

l. 352. Co. *halyndon hill;* L. *helydowne hill;* T. and L. *Eldone;* Ca. *ledyn* for *Eldyn.* I think there is little doubt, though the two oldest MSS. say otherwise, that the Battle of Halidon Hill, 1333, is meant. "So great was the slaughter of the nobility, that, after the battle, it was currently said amongst the English that the Scottish wars were at last ended, since not a man was left of that nation who had either skill or power to assemble an army or direct its operations."—*Tytler*, quoting *Murimuth*, p. 81. But there may have been a legendary prophecy as to Eldone Hill, which was after the event changed to Halidown Hill, as "Spincarde Clough" was to Pinkie-cleuch.

l. 353—354. *Breton's—Bruyse blode*, the common terms in this Fytte for *English* and *Scotch.* The English claims to the superiority of Scotland were founded upon the Cymric version of the legend of the Trojan *Brutus*, from whom the name of Britain was "derived," who was said to have divided the realm, after he had conquered it from the giants, between his three sons, Locrinus, Cymber, and Albanactus, eponymi of English, Welsh, and Scotch, with the feudal supremacy to Locrinus. Thus adopting the *Brute, Breton*, or *British* legend, the English were the *Brutes* or *Bretons blode.* There was, of course, an alliterative antithesis between *Bretons* and *Bruces;* but in some of the MSS. the latter word might be either *Bruces* or *Brutes*, confounding the two opposites. I have printed *Bruces*, the word originally meant, though perhaps the scribes thought it *Brutes.*

l. 354. *spraye;* Gaelic *spreidh*, booty, prey. Gawain Douglas has *spreith, spreicht.*

l. 357. The foregoing passage refers to a cluster of events in the minority of David II., 1332—1345. They seem to have been written at that time. What follows to the end of the Fytte, and perhaps even to l. 520 in Fytte III., is a general sketch of battles and other events in Scotland from 1298 to 1400 or so, and was probably written about the latter date, when the poem took its present form. l. 357—364 refer to the battle of *Falkirk* (S. and L. do not understand the proper name); Ca. Co. and L. erroneously make the Scotch win.

l. 367—376. The lady wishes to go because her hounds are impatient. Thomas detains her, giving (in Ca. only) a reason.

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l. 371. *god schilde*, Dieu defende! God defend! God forbid.

l. 375. Ca. *reyke*, roam, ramble.

koltely or ? *holteby* I cannot explain; it is probably a proper name. *Holt* is of course a *wood*, but it is a word not now current in the North.

l. 377—388. The battle of Bannockburn, June, 1314; here all the MSS. agree that the *Brucys blode* shall win, though Ca. corrupts to *Brutys*, and L. to Ebruys (!).

l. 379—380 seem to be the origin of the traditional prophecy attributed to Thomas (ante, p. xliv),

"The burn of breid
Sall rin fu' reid."

a *bannock* being a cake of (home made) bread.

l. 381—385 describe the well-known device of Bruce of defending his flank by pits dug, and concealed by hurdles and turf. *snapre* L. = stumble.

l. 389, 390. The death of Robert Bruce, leaving a son of 6 years old, so that Scotland kingless stood.

l. 391—412. The tercelet, or young falcon, is Edward Baliol, who now seeing his opportunity took with him *tercelettes grete & gay*, the dispossessed lords, Henry Percy, Lord Wake, Henry Beaumont, David Cumyn and others, and landed (l. 401) at Wester Kinghorn, 1332, where Alexander Seton, with a handful of followers, threw themselves upon them, but was overpowered and cut in pieces on the sands (l. 402). They then pushed on towards Perth, surprised the Scottish army at Duplin Moor, by the River Earn, which flows over the old red-sandstone (ll. 403—408), with great slaughter, and next day took Perth, the "town of great renown near the water of Tay."

l. 400. T. *Royalle blode*; S. *baly of blud*, corruptly for *Balyolues blode*, as in Co.

l. 414. *cheuede*, achieved. l. 415. *bowne*, ready.

l. 416. *the werre of Fraunce*. Edward III., thinking Scotland reduced under Baliol, declared war against France in 1337, and in 1339 invaded that country.

l. 417—436. The text is here in great confusion, none of the MSS. apparently being complete. The event itself is also misplaced, as the coronation of David II. really occurred before Baliol's invasion, and not now (1341) when he returned from his exile in France to reign. Ca. does not mend the matter by reading *Robert*, as the events which follow belong to David.

l. 427, 428 in L. refer to the special bull obtained from Rome for the anointing of David II.

l. 423. *More and myne*, greater and lesser.

l. 425. *skyme*, T., error for Skynne = Scone or Skune.

l. 427. *beryns* = *bernys*; A.S. *beorn*, chieftains, barons, nobles.

l. 429—448. David II.'s invasion of England in 1346, six years after his return from France, when he took Hexham (l. 431); was defeated at Beaurepair, close to Durham (l. 433, 434); and himself, after being grievously wounded (l. 440), taken prisoner (l. 444), and led to London (l. 447).

l. 430. *lygges*, lies (A.S. *licgan*); the Northern form still well-known.

l. 437. *taggud*, *togged*, confined, encumbered, for *tane* of T., Ca. has *teyryd*, ? for *teþryd*, *tethered*.

l. 439. *nebbe*, nose; A.S. *nyb*.

l. 441, 442. *fode*, a brood. The *fals fode*, who betray the king, points to the High

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Steward, and the Earl of March, who escaped with their division from the field, and were blamed for not adequately supporting David.

l. 448. *the goshawke fynd his Make*, David II. find his *mate* or consort, Joanna, sister of Edward III.

l. 453—456 I cannot explain, unless they refer to the slaughter in Ettrick Forest of the Knight of Liddesdale, who had been gained over to the English interest by Edward.

l. 457—460 describe the great exertions made in Scotland to raise the enormous sum of the king's ransom (equal to £1,200,000 of modern money); for *fulle and fere* I suggest *felle and flese*, or *Wolle and fell, full many ane.* The money was principally raised by granting to the king all the wool and wool-fells in the kingdom at a low rate, to be exported and sold at a profit abroad.

l. 464. *bygge & browke the tre*, apparently to *build* (their nests) and *use* or enjoy the tree.

l. 467. Robert II., the first of the Stewarts, ascended the throne 26 March, 1371.

l. 469—484. The *Cheuanteyne* or *Cheftan* is the Earl of Douglas (l. 480), who invaded England 1388, burned and plundered, especially in the bishopric of Durham (l. 473-4), rode to Newcastle, and challenged Hotspur (l. 475-6), and was by him overtaken and slain at Otterbourne, in a marsh by the Reed (l. 477—480). Hotspur was taken prisoner (l. 481) and led to Scotland.

l. 479. *in fere*, together, in company (A.S. *gefera*).

l. 480. Co. *doglas*, i. e. Douglas; misunderstood, and variously corrupted in the others.

l. 486. The original seems to have been as in l. 306, *Me by-houis ouer yone bentis browne*, variously corrupted in L. and S.

FYTTE III.

The first stanza, wanting in Ca. and S., differs greatly in the others.

l. 489. *gente*, handsome, elegant; *hende*, see l. 291.

l. 492. *worthe*, become, A.S. *weorðan.*

l. 494. *wandrethe*, trouble, sorrow. Isl. *vandrædi; woghe*, A.S. *woh*, injustice, wrong; *wankill*, A.S. *wancol*, unstable, shaky.

l. 496. *spynkarde cloughe, slough, spynar hill;* I can find no trace of this locality, and do not know if it refers to any actual event (unless it be the skirmish between Sir John Gordon and Lilburn "in a mountain pass" on the border, in 1378); but it was quoted in the later prophecies as *Pinken* or *Pinkie cleuch.*

l. 505—512 perhaps refer to the invasion of Scotland and siege of Edinburgh by Henry IV. in 1400, although it more recalls that of Richard II. in 1385.

l. 509. T. *Sembery* is a curious error for *Edinbery*, but very simply made in the MS.

l. 513—516, a repetition of l. 409—412 in the preceding Fytte.

l. 521. From this point the prophecies are not historical; they constitute a series of legendary predictions. They are principally occupied by three battles, that between Seton and the Sea, and those of Gladsmoor and Sandyford, and the career of "the Bastard out of the west," which I take to be a distorted Arthurian legend. These four ideas fill all the later prophecies, Scottish and English alike, of the battles. Dr Robert Chambers says:—"It is broadly notable throughout the history of early prophecy in

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Scotland, how strongly the notion was impressed that there was to be a great and bloody conflict near Seton, or at the adjacent Gladsmuir, both in East Lothian [about 7 miles E. of Edinburgh]. There had existed, before the battle of Pinkie (1547), a prophetic rhyme:

Between Seton and the sea,
Mony a man shall die that day.

And we know that the rhyme and the day were so from the following passage in Patten's *Account of the Expedition of the Duke of Somerset*, printed in 1548: 'This battell and feld [Pinkie] the Scottes and we are not yet agreed how it shall be named. We cal it Muskelborough felde, because that is the best towne (and yet bad inough) nigh to the place of our meeting. Sum of them cal it Seton felde (a town thear nigh too), by means of a blind prophecy of theirs, which is this or sum such toye: Betwene Seton and the seye, many a man shall dye that day.' The same rhyme is incorporated in the long irregular and mystical poems which were published as the prophecies of Thomas in 1615. We humbly think that our countrymen strained a point to make out the battle of Pinkie as the fulfilment of a conflict at Seton, which is four or five miles distant; not to speak of the preciseness of the prophecy in indicating *between Seton and the sea.*

"That there should be a great and bloody fight at Gladsmuir appears in the old Scotch prophecies. A traditionary one, attributed as usual to 'True Thomas,' bare reference to the fate of Foveran Castle in Aberdeenshire, long ago the seat of a family named Turing:

'When Turing's Tower falls to the land,
Gladsmuir then is nigh at hand:
When Turing's Tower falls to the sea,
Gladsmuir the next year shall be.'

A local writer about 1720 (*View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, Spalding Club*) gives this rhyme, and adds: 'It seems that Gladsmuir is to be a very decisive battle for Scotland; but if one fancy the place of it to be Gladsmuir on the coast of East Lothian, he will find himself mistaken; for

'It shall not be Gladsmoor by the sea,
But Gladsmoor wherever it be.'

[See before, p. xxxv; also the English Prophecy in Appendix II. l. 80.] That is, the number of corpses will make it a resort of birds of prey, and so a *Gled's muir.*

"When the battle of Prestonpans took place in 1745, the victorious Highlanders were for calling it 'Gladsmuir,' in reference to the old prophecy [see before, p. xli, xlii]; but in truth, the scene of conflict was nearly as far from Gladsmuir as Pinkie was from Seton. It must be admitted to have been near to Seton, though not strictly *betwixt Seton and the Sea.*"—*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 218.

The "Whole Prophecies of Scotland, &c.," 1603, already discussed (p. xxx), are full of references to these battles. But they were equally famous in England, as is shown by the prose prophecy of 1529, quoted in Appendix II. from the Sloane MS., and many other references in the same volume. At an earlier date, the Battle of Barnet, doubtless on account of the enormous carnage by which it was distinguished, as well as its decisive effect on the Wars between York and Lancaster, was called by contemporaries the Battle of Gladsmoor. In the following quotation from Holinshed, the name occurs as belonging to the site, but I suspect it was an *ex post facto* one: "Hervpon remouved

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they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath, on the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 684.

Compare Dravton, *Polyolbion*, Song xxii (Chalmers's English Poets, vol. iv. p. 345):—

"the armies forward make,
And meeting on the plain to Barnet very near,
That to this very day is called Gladmore there."

As to *Sandyford*, I can offer no conjecture, even of the place hinted at; but the battle at Sandyford is equally prominent in the other Scottish and English prophecies, as in the following, culled from the Sloane MS. already quoted:—

"Ouer Sandiford shalbe sorowes sene on the southe side on a mondaye, wheare gromes shall grone on a grene, besides englefield yere standethe a Castelle on a mountaine Clif the which shall doo yeir enemyes tene, & save england yat day./ (leaf 41 *a*.)

"At Sandiford betwix ij parkes a pallace & a parishe churche, a hardy prince downe shall lyghte. troye vntrue yen shall tremble & quake yat daye for feare of a deade man when yei heare him speake. all thoffyceris yerin shall caste him the keyes, from vxbrydge to hownslowe y^e^ bushment to breake, and fare as a people that weare wudd. the ffather shall sleye y^e^ sone y^e^ brother y^e^ brother, y^t^ all London shall renn bludde." (leaf 44 *b*.)

l. 541—544. A vivid picture of the desolation to be produced; this seems the origin of one of the traditional sayings of Thomas quoted on p. xliv:

"A horse sal gang on Carolside brae,
Till the red girth gaw his side in twae."

Carolside, properly *Crawhillside*, lies on the bank of the Leader about a mile above Earlstoun.

l. 549. T. omits *baners*. This line and the next in Ca. have been overwritten so as to make the original words irrecoverable. The words *eneglych shal rone away* have thus been inserted, probably for *nyght shal dee*.

l. 553. *trewe*, the correct singular; of which *trewis*, *trewes*, *truce* is properly the plural. Fr. *trève*, *trèves*.

l. 555. *dere*, A.S. *derian*, to hurt, harm.

l. 557. *betwene twa sainte Marye dayes*. The same date is given to Gladsmoor in the English prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 560. S. *claydon moore*, above this in the MS. *dvnnes more* is written, referring perhaps to Dunse Moor, and the "Warden Raid" of 1378.

Ca. *gleydes more*, the moor of the *gleydes* or kites; but in the next stanza in Ca. only, and evidently an afterthought, the word is played on as *glads*-moor. This stanza is quoted in the prophecy of Bertlington, ante, p. xxxvi, and in many other prophecies, Scotch and English.

l. 565—576. See as to the Crow and the Raven, Introduction, p. xxxii, &c.

l. 576. *wayloway*, A.S. *wá lá wá*, wo! O wo!

l. 577—604. In T. only (where also l. 592—604 are lost) contain a list of the lords described by their armorial bearings, by which they might no doubt still be identified. "The publication of predictions, either printed or hieroglyphical, in which noble

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families were pointed out by their armorial bearings, was, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, extremely common; and the influence of such predictions on the minds of the common people was so great as to occasion a prohibition, by statute, of prophecy by reference to heraldic emblems. Lord Henry Howard also directs against this practice much of the reasoning in his learned treatise, entitled 'A Defensation against the Poyson of Pretended prophecies.'"—Scott, *Border Minstrelsy.*

l. 619. *boune*, ready, prepared.

l. 621—644. In great confusion in the MSS. Ca. seems to transpose two stanzas, putting the death of the bastard before Sandyford, while the others put it last, and make it the cause of the lady's emotion. S. agrees with Co. and L. so far as these are entire, in the order of the stanzas, but as elsewhere mixes up their lines greatly.

l. 625. *braye*, T. had probably *braa*, a brae, or steep incline. Ca. corruptly *wroo*.

l. 633. *Remnerdes*, what this word is corrupted for cannot be ascertained through the defects in the other MSS.

l. 635, *dynge*, Isl. *dænga*, Sw. *dänga*, to knock, push violently, drive.

l. 640. *bod-word*, message.

l. 644. *that mycull may*, who hast great might.

l. 651. *ladys shall wed laddys ȝong;* compare the Harleian prophecy, addressed to the Countess of March, "When laddes weddeth lovedies," and Waldhaue's quotation of Thomas's prophecy, ante, p. xxxix.

l. 660. S. *annes*, perhaps rather *aunes*. *Blak Agnes of Donbar*, the heroic daughter of Earl Thomas Randolph, and wife of Patrick Earl of March, so famed for her defence of the Castle of Dunbar, which, in absence of her husband, she held for five months (1338) against the assault of an English army, led by the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, and at last obliged them to raise the siege. Her husband's career was marked by much oscillation between Scotland and England, and his son finally took the English side, which may account for the hostility to the family here displayed. Thomas of Erceldowne lived a whole generation earlier than Black Agnes, and it is probable that traditions of his relation with an earlier Countess of March, who was "sothely lady at arsyldone" (see Introd., p. xi, xiv), were transferred to her more famous successor.

l. 661—664 differ much in Ca. and Co. The latter is doubtless the original.

l. 664. *ploos*, Ca. looks as like *plees* or *ploes*. l. 666. *the*, thrive, flourish.

l. 672. *magrat*, O.Fr. *malgrat*, *maugret*, in spite of.

The conclusion, l. 673—700, differs a good deal in the four MSS. which possess it. Co. being fullest, T. next, and perhaps had all the original text. S. is roughly curtailed.

l. 695. *Helmesdale* in Sutherland, in the far north, whence fairies and witches were believed to come.

APPENDIXES I. AND II.

IT is not very easy to define the relations between these two compositions, which have about 70 lines in common at the beginning, but are otherwise entirely different. Apparently, the original nucleus consisted of a prophecy referring to the Wars of the

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Roses, and the Battle of Glad-moor, seemingly identified with Barnet. This seems to be preserved in lines 1—44, and 73—180 of the English prophecy. Afterwards this composition was extended to embrace the early fortunes of the House of Tudor, and the Battle of Flodden, and probably at this time, 1515—1525, the episode of the English and Scottish knight, l. 45—72, which comes in very awkwardly, was introduced, as well as the later part of the poem. The compiler of the Scottish prophecy then borrowed this introduction as far as line 72, and made it the commencement of a different account of the Battle of Flodden suited to Scottish needs, and alluding, l. 119, to the idea long cherished that James IV. did not die in the battle. Apparently, after the Battle of Pinkie, 1547, and perhaps about the time of the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, 1558, this was rewritten with interpolations referring to these events—lines 193 and 194 being cleverly adapted from l. 496 of the Romance of Thomas, and lines 239—244 from "the Prophecy of Bertlington:" see ante, p. xxxvi. The copy printed in 1603, and here followed, is much modernized, and bears traces in every line of the original having been pure northern. Thus in l. 65, *gone* must have been *went;* l. 69, *said* for *saw;* l. 71, *two* for *twa;* l. 79, *so* for *swa*, rhyming with *ta* = *take;* l. 114—121, the rhyme breaks down, and the text is in confusion; l. 139, *two* for *twa*, rhyming with *na ma*, changed into *no more* in l. 141; l. 146, *hurte and woe* for *trouble and tene*, rhyming with *shene;* l. 163 is corrupt; l. 171, *blew* for *bla*, rhyming with *sla* in 173, and in l. 178, 180, *blew, two*, for *bla, twa;* l. 182, 184, *goe, slay* for *ga, sla;* l. 224, *stone* for *stane*. Many lines and pairs of lines are also lost at various places. Perhaps one day an older and more perfect copy may be found.

Appendix II. I have ventured to apply to this a title recorded by Sir David Lyndesay, about 1528 (*The Dreme*, l. 43), which agrees also with the rubric at end of the MS. It is found in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the texts of the Romance of Thomas, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813, of a later date. The Lansdowne is evidently a copy by a southern scribe of an older northern text, the true readings of which he has often mistaken and made into nonsense. Still more frequently the rhyme has been injured in the transliteration, as in lines 229—236, where the rhyming words *blowe, lee; knowe, swaye; fall, hie; call, dye*, represent an original *blaw, le; knaw, swe; fa', he; ca', de.* The Rawlinson copy is still more modernized, and as a whole weaker, but it contains fewer absolute blunders, and so often enables us to restore the sense of the original. Only the more important of its variations are here given as notes to the Lansdowne text; but occasionally where the latter is very corrupt, it is relegated to the notes (there marked L.), and the Rawl. reading placed in the text. Words, &c., added from R. in the text are in brackets.

The last historical event recorded in it is the Battle of Flodden, or rather the capture of Tournay by Henry VIII. a few days later. Its date is no doubt shortly after this, and nearer to 1515 than 1525. England is of course still faithful to Rome, and the pope occupies a prominent place in the concluding events; but in the Rawlinson copy, curiously enough, the word "pope," wherever it occurs, is struck out by a line drawn across it, a witness to the feelings of a later date.

Besides the ascription at the end, the authorities for the different sections of the prophecy are cited at l. 135, as "saint Bede;" l. 291, "bredlynton;" l. 292, "bede;" l. 294, "Arseldowne;" l. 346, "Arsalldoune;" l. 380, "Merlyon;" l. 409, "Marlyon;" l. 444, "Arse[l]doun;" l. 445, "the holly man that men calles Bede." Opposite some of these the name is repeated in larger letters in the margin; thus, opposite

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to l. 346, *Arysdon;* opp. l. 380, *Merlyon;* opp. l. 409, *Marlyon;* opp. lines 428 and 445, *Bede.*

l. 15, 16. Comp. l. 195, 196 of *Thomas.*

l. 21, &c. Comp. the description of the lady in l. 41 of *Thomas.*

l. 45—72. An interpolation dislocating the natural sequence between the l. 44 and 73. The two knights, St George and St Andrew, of course symbolize England and Scotland.

l. 60 *bis.* a superfluous line, interpolated as if the first of next stanza. Allowed for in R. by omitting l. 72; but of course the proper one to omit was l. 68.

l. 68. Note the Anglo-Saxon and Danish '*burgh* and *by*.'

l. 70. *wrong heyres.* e. g. Henry IV., Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII.

l. 72. The fling at the Scots here and in line 183 indicates an English author.

l. 73 naturally follows 44. The Lady having consecrated the ground, now declares that it will be the site of the battle of *Gladmoor* (? Barnet), and vanishes. The writer applies to the "lytell man" to give him more distinct information about Gladmoor; the latter predicts the dissension (between the Nevilles and Woodvilles); the son fighting against the father (Clarence and Warwick); falsehood and envy (the House of York) reigning in England for 33 years. (The Duke of York took up arms in 1452, and the Battle of Bosworth was in 1485.) A king reigning without righteousness (Edward IV.); then a break when "he that hath England hent (Warwick) shall be made full lowe to light." Two princes have their deaths with treason dight; then when all expect peace, the landing of Henry VII. and Battle of Bosworth. Henry is crowned, and known as the "king of covatyce." "The fourth leaf of the tree (the house of York) dies, that lost hath bowes moo"—almost all the descendants of Edward III. are extinct; traitors taste the Tower (Warwick and ? Richard, Duke of York, nicknamed by the Tudors, Perkin Warbeck), and Henry VII. dies.

l. 77. gladismore that shall glad vs all,
yt shalbe gladyng of oure glee;

identical with lines 561-2 of *Thomas.*

l. 79. yt shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,
but not gladmore by the see.

Also in the prophecy of Bertlington, p. xxxv; and see *Notes* to l. 521 of *Thomas.*

l. 181—284 describe the Battle of Flodden, naming the localities of Millfield, Branxton, and Flodden itself. The "red lion" is of course James IV.; the "white lyon," Sir Edmund Howard; and the "Admyrall," Thomas Howard, who commanded the English right. The MS. (Lansd. 762) contains, on leaf 70, a contemporary explanation of the emblems under which various persons are designated in the prophecies. They include the following:—

The mowlle the Erle of Westmerlonde.	The white Lyoun Duke of Norffolk.
The wolffe the lorde Martyne.	The Crepawde Rex Frauncie.
The mone the Erle of Northumberlonde.	The Red Lyoun Rex Scotorum.
The Blew bore Erle of Oxforde.	The Lylye the Duke of Lancaster.
The Red dragoun barne of Clyfforde.	Pye, Lorde Ryvers.

The Scots are referred to in l. 250 and 298 as "*Albenactes* blode," from the legendary Albanactus, son of Brutus, eponymus of the *Albannaich* or Scottish Celts.

l. 285. "*The prynce that is beyonde the flode*" (Henry VIII. now in France) takes two towns (Terouanne and Tournay).

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l. 296. An allusion to True Thomas's absence from earth, which the later tradition extends to seven years. See *Thomas*, l. 286, Cambridge Text.

l. 297. The passage commencing here may originally have referred to the arrival in Scotland of the Duke of Albany, already mentioned more than once; but at this point the "prophecy" ceases to be historical.

l. 305. *stanis more*, this battle figures also in the prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 317. "*A king*" or "*duke of Denmark*," and "*the black fleet of Norway*," shew that even now, five hundred years after their invasions had come to an end, the name of the Danes and Norseman was still mentioned in terror.

l. 341. *sondysfurth*, on *the south side*, and l. 371, "*beside a well there is a stronde*," compare the prophecy of Merlyne, p. xxxiii, and the prose prophecy in Appendix III.; see also l. 624—632 of *Thomas*, and *Notes* to l. 521 of the Romance.

l. 373. *Snapeys-more* is referred to also in the prose prophecy, Appendix III.

l. 385—388. *Gladmore* and its doubtful issue; see in *Thomas*, l. 549—560.

l. 405—408. The "*okes thre*" and the "*headless cross of stone*," compare *Thomas*, l. 569—578, and l. 629, 630. See also various similar passages in "the Whole Prophecies of Scotland."

l. 543. "*In the vale of Josephate shall he dye.*" So in the end of the "koke of the north" prophecy, edited by Mr Lumby; see ante, p. xxxii, and *Thomas*, l. 641, "The bastarde shall dye in the holy land."

l. 609. *he sayd*, "*a long time thow holdest me here;*" compare the lady's repeated remonstrances in *Thomas*.

l. 627. *when he thynketh tyme to talle.* Query *too tall*, i. e. *too long;* or error for *to calle.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

Earlstoun church and Rymour's stone.—In part correction of the note to p. xiii Mrs C. Wood of Galashiels, a native of Earlstoun, writes:—"The present church was renewed in 1736, but there are many stones in the churchyard as old as 1600, and the bell, which was cast in Holland, bears the date of 1609. The older building stood a few yards further forward, more to the south. Chambers, in his 'Picture of Scotland,' says that the inscription on the stone built into the wall of Earlstoun Church was defaced by a person named Waterstone, who considered it interfered with his right of property to the burial-place. I believe that this is quite correct, and also that the characters of the former inscription were very ancient. In a plan I have of the churchyard, made in 1842, there are 16 graves belonging to 'Lermonts,' 11 of which lie in a row, and the first of these has the date 1564. But none of the Learmont graves are near the church; in fact, there is only one gravestone in the vicinity of the Rhymer's Stone, and this belongs to the Waterstones." This disposes of any inference in favour of Rymour's name having been Learmont.

Haig of Bemerside, p. xliii.—In the account of the family of Haig, written by the Earl of Buchan, we find: "Zerubabel Haig, 17th Baron of Bemerside, who married Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Thomas Gordon, Esq., Clerk to the Court of Justiciary,

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by whom he had one son and twelve daughters. . . . . This Zerubabel Haig died in 1752." This was the gentleman referred to by Sir Walter Scott.

RHYMER'S THORN, p. xlix.—Mr James Wood, Galashiels, says, "Rhymer's Thorn stood in a garden belonging to the Black Bull Inn, occupied by a man named Thin. It was a large tree, and sending out its roots in all directions, it absorbed much of the growing power of the soil. Thin set his son to cut the roots all round, and clear the garden of them. This was in the spring of 1814, and the Thorn which had defied the blasts of probably 900 years, now shorn of its roots, succumbed shortly after to a violent westerly gale. It was immediately replanted, with several cart loads of manure dug in round about it; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the people to keep it alive, it never took root again. In 1830 the ground on which it stood came into the possession of the late John Spence, writer, Earlstoun, who built a high wall round the garden, leaving a square opening near the top to mark the site of the tree.

"The Thorn is described by John Shiel, a native of Earlstoun, 12 years old when the tree was blown down, and now 73, as 'the grandest tree ever I saw; it was a big tree, wi' a trunk as thick as a man's waist, an' its branches were a perfect circle, an' sae round i' the tap! I' the spring it was a solid sheet o' white flourishin', scentin' the whole toon end, an' its haws—there was na the like o' them in a' Scotland! they were the biggest haws ever I saw in my life; ay, I've been up the tree scores o' times pu'ing them when I was a laddie.'

"Rhymer's Thorn must have been an object of the utmost veneration to the people of Earlstoun, as they believed their prosperity to be bound up in its existence; and on the day it was blown down, a great many people ran with bottles of Wine and Whisky, and threw their contents on it, so as, if possible, to preserve it alive. It was always said that the Rhymer prophesied that Earlstoun should prosper so long as the Thorn stood; and it was a remarkable coincidence that the year it was blown down all the merchants in Earlstoun 'broke.'"

THOMAS'S DISAPPEARANCE, p. l.—"The late Mr Whale, who was a great repository of the traditions of Earlstoun, said, that the Public House, at the door of which the Rhymer sat when the white hind went through the village, stood in the Close, behind the present Reading-Room. There is, however, another tradition known in Earlstoun connected with the sudden disappearance of Thomas. It is said, that on the night when he so mysteriously disappeared, he had attended a banquet given by the Earl of March at his Castle in Earl's Town, and on his way home to the Tower was waylaid and murdered, either by some of the neighbouring barons, or by agents of the Earl of March, to whom he was an object of fear and dislike, in consequence of his close and intimate friendship with Sir William Wallace. The road between Earl's Town and Ersildoun passed in those days to the south of the present road, and a large two-handed sword, which was dug up a good many years ago in the garden (through which the old road is said to have crossed) of the late Mr George Noble, was purchased lately by a descendant of the Earlstoun Learmonts, on account of its supposed connection with this tradition."—C. W.

"This 'sword of Thomas the Rhymer' was a huge two-handed sword, in pretty good preservation. From the form of handle, it may have possibly been of the 12th or 13th century."—A. C.

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THE OLD HARLEIAN PROPHECY, p. xviii.

I DID not think of insulting the reader by a translation of this, but as I have been asked more than once "what does it mean?" here it is:—

The Countess of Dunbar asked Thomas of Erceldoune when the Scottish war should have an end, and he answered her and said:

When people have (*man has*) made a king of a capped man;
When another man's thing is dearer to one than his own;
When Loudyon [or *London*?] is Forest, and Forest is field;
When hares litter on the hearth-stone;
When Wit and Will war together;
When people make stables of churches, and set castles with styes.
When Roxburgh is no burgh, and market is at Forwylee;
When the old is gone and the new is come that is worth [or *do*] nought;
When Bannockburn is dunged with dead men;
When people lead men in ropes to buy and to sell;
When a quarter of 'indifferent' wheat is exchanged for a colt of 10 merks;
When pride rides on horseback, and peace is put in prison;
When a Scot cannot hide like a hare in form that the English shall not find him;
When right and wrong assent together;
When *lads* marry *ladies*;[1]
When Scots flee so fast, that for want of ships, they drown themselves.
When shall this be? Neither in thy time nor in mine;
But [shall] come and go within twenty winters and one.

[1] In the 14th, of course, and not the 19th century meaning of these words, when the "lads" in a shop may wed the "ladies" behind the counter, without any disparity. But *lads* have "looked up," and *ladies* gone, well-a-day! a long way down, since Thomas's time; although in old-fashioned country districts the farm-servants are still "the lads," and the daughters of the baron "the leddies."

One might suppose that Shakspere had these lines in view, where he makes the Fool in *Lear* (Act III. Scene ii.) parody these species of composition:

"Ile speake a Prophesie ere I go:
When Priests are more in word, then matter;
When Brewers marre their malt with water;
When Nobles are their Taylors Tutors
No Heretiques burn'd, but wenches Sutors;
When euery Case in Law, is right;
No Squire in debt, nor no poore Knight;
When slanders do not liue in Tongues;
Nor Cut-purses come not to throngs;
When Vsurers tell their Gold i' th' Field;
And Baudes, and whores, do churches build;
Then shal the Realme of *Albion*,
Come to great confusion;
Then comes the time, who liues to see 't
That going shalbe vs'd with feet.
This prophecie *Merlin* shall make, for I liue before his time."

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Tomas Off Erssseldoune.

[*Thornton MS. leaf* 149, *back, col.* 1.]

Lystyns, lordyñgs, bothe grete & smale,
And takis gude tente what j will saye:
I sall 3ow telle als trewe a tale,
Als euer was herde by nyghte or daye:
And þe maste merueÌe ffor owttyne naye,
That euer was herde by-fore or syene,
And þer-fore pristly j 3ow praye,
That 3e will of 3oure talkyng blyne.
It es an harde thyng for to saye,
Of doghety dedis þat hase bene done;
Of feÌe feghtyñgs & bateÌs sere;
And how þat þir knyghtis hase wonne þair schone.
Bot jhesu crist þat syttis in trone,
Safe ynglyscÌe mene bothe ferre & nere;
And j sall telle 3ow tyte and sone,
Of BateÌs donne sythene many a 3ere;
And of bateÌs þat done sall bee;
In whate place, and howe, and whare;
And wha sall hafe þe heghere gree,
And whethir partye sall hafe þe werre;
Wha sall takk þe flyghte and flee,
And wha sall dye and by-leue thare:
Bot jhesu crist, þat dyed on tre,
Saue jnglysche mene whare-so þay fare.

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[*Thornton, continued.*]

[FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

Als j me wente þis Endres daye,
ffull faste in mynd makand my mone,
In a mery mornynge of Maye,
By huntle bankkes my selfe allone,
I herde þe jaye, & þe throstyll cokke,
The Mawys menyde hir of hir songe,
þe wodewale beryde als a belle,
That alle þe wode a-bowte me ronge.
Allonne in longynge thus als j laye,
Vndyre-nethe a semely tree,
. . . . . j whare a lady gaye
. . . . . ouer a longe lee.
If j solde sytt to domesdaye, [col. 2]
With my tonge, to wrobbe and wrye,
Certanely þat lady gaye,
Neuer bese scho askryede for mee.
Hir palfraye was a dappill graye,

Swylke one ne saghe j neuer none;
Als dose þe sonne on someres daye,
þat faire lady hir selfe scho schone.
Hir selle it was of roelle bone,
ffull semely was þat syghte to see!
Stefly sett with precyous stones,
And compaste all with crapotee,
Stones of Oryente, grete plente;
Hir hare abowte hir hede it hange;
Scho rade ouer þat lange lee;
A whylle scho blewe, a-noþer scho sange.

THORNTON

[*Cotton, Vitell. E .x. leaf* 240, *back.*]

[1]**Incipit prophecia Thome Arseldon**

[1 col. 1]

IN a lande as I was lent,
In þe grykyng of þe day,

Me a lone as I went,
In huntle bankys me for to play.
I sawe þ[e] throstyl & þe Iay;
þe mawes movyde of hyr songe;
þe wodwale sange notes gay,
þat all þe wod a boute range.
In þat longynge as I lay,
vndir nethe a dern tre,
I was war of a lady gay,
Come rydyng ouyr a fayre le.
ȝogh I sulde sitt to domysday,
With my tonge to wrabbe & wry,
Sertenly, all hyr aray,
It beth neuer discryuyd for me.
hyr palfra was dappyll gray,

Syche on say I neuer none;
. . . als son in somers day,
All abowte þat lady schone.
hyr sadyl was of a jewel bone,
A semely syȝt it was to se;
. [w]roght with mony a precyouse stone,
And compasyd all with crapote.
Stones of [ʔ]osrt gret plente;
. . . . . a boute hyr hede it hang;
. . . . . þe fair le
. . . . . shee blewe anoþer she sange.

COTTON

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[*Lansdowne* 762, *leaf* 24.]

[FOOTT THE FIRST.]

As I me went this thender day,
So styll makyng my Mone,

In a Mery Mornyng of May,
In huntly bank*es* My self alone,
I harde the Meryll and the Iay,
the Maner Menede of hir song,
the wylde wode-wale song not*es* gay,
that alle the shawys abowte hem Rong.
¶ But in a loning, as I lay,
Vnder neth a semely tre,
I saw where a lady gay
Cam rydyng ou*er* a louely le.
thowh that I leue styll tyll domys day,
with any my tong*e* to worble or were,
The certayn) sothe of hir Array
May neu*er* be descreued for me.
¶ Hir palfray was of daply gray,
[1]The farest Molde that any myght be;
here sadell bryght as any day. [1 leaf 24, bk]
Set *with* pereles to þe kne.
And furthermore of hir Aray,
Diu*ers* clothing she had vpon;
And as the sonne in somerys day,
Forsouthe the ladye here sylffe shone.
¶ here sege was of ryall bon*e*,
Syche one sau I neu*er* with ye!
Set *with* many A precious stone,
And cumpasyde all *with* crapote.
With stonys of oryoles, grete plenty;
Dyamondes thick aboute hir honge;
She bare a horne of gold semely,
And vnder hir gyrdell a flon*e*.

LANSDOWNE

[*Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff., leaf* 119.]

[FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

As I me went þ*is* Andyrs day,
ffast on my way makyng my mone,

In a mery mornyng of may,
Be huntley bank*is* my self alone,
I herde þe iay, & þe throstell,
þe mavys menyd in hir song,
þe wodewale farde as a bell.
þ*at* þe wode aboute me rong.
Alle in a longyng, as I lay,
Vnd*ur*neth a cu*m*ly tre,
Saw I wher a lady gay
Came ridand ou*er* a louely le.
ȝif I shuld sitte till dom*us*day,
Alle w*ith* my tong to know & se,
Sertenly, alle hur aray,
Shalle hit neu*er* be scryed for me.
Hir palfray was of dappull gray,

Sike on se I neu*er* non;
As dose þe sune on som*ers* day,
þe cu*m*ly lady hir selfe schone.
hir sadill was of reuyll bon*e*,
Semely was þ*at* sight to se!
Stifly sette w*ith* pr*e*cious ston,
Compaste aboute w*ith* crapote,
Stonys of oryons, gret plente;
hir here aboute hir hed hit hong
She rode out ou*er* þ*at* louely le
A while she blew, a while she song;

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Hir garthes of nobyłł sylke þay were,
The bukyłłs were of Berełłe stone,
Hir steraps were of crystałłe clere,
And all *with* perełłe ou*er*-by-gone.
Hir payetrełłe was of jrale fyne,
Hir cropoure was of Orpharë;
And als clere golde hir brydiłł it schone,
One aythir syde hange bellys three.

[. . . . . *no break in the MS.*]
And seuen*e* raches by hir þay rone;
Scho bare an horne abowte hir halse,
And vndir hir belte fułł many a flone.
Thom*as* laye & sawe þat syghte,
Vndir-nethe ane semly tree;
He sayd, '3one es marye moste of myghte,
þat bare þat childe þat dyede for mee.
Bot if j speke w*ith* 3one lady bryghte,
I hope myn*e* herte wiłł bryste i*n* three!
Now sałł j go w*ith* ałł my myghte,
Hir for to mete at Eldoun*e* tree.'
Thomas rathely vpe he rase, [1 leaf 150]
[1]And he rane ou*er* þat Mountayne hye;
Gyff it be als the storye sayes,
He hir mette at Eldone tree.
He knelyde downe appon*e* his knee,
Vndir-nethe þat grenwode spraye;
And sayd, 'lufly ladye! rewe one mee,
Qwene of heuen*e* als þou wele maye!'
Than spake þat lady Milde of thoghte,
'Thom*as*! late swylke wordes bee;
Qwene of heuen*e* ne am j noghte,
ffor j tuke neu*er* so heghe degre.

THORNTON

. . . . . er of cr*is*tall cler,
. . . . . war þay sett;
Sadyll & brydil wer a . . . . . [col. 2]
with sylk & sendell fy . . . .
hyr paytr*e*l was of y . . . . . .
And hir croper of yra . . . .
hyr brydil was of g . . . . . .
on eu*er*y syde for soth . . . .
hyr brydil reynes w . . . . . .
A semly sy3t it w . . . . . .
Crop*er* & paytrel . . . . . .
In eu*er*y joynt . . . . . .
She led thre gre . . . . . .
& racches cowpled . . . . . .
She bar*e* an horn a . . . . . .
& vndir hyr gyrdyll . . . . .
Thom*as* lay & sawe . . . . . .
In þe bankes of h . . . . . .
he sayd '3ond*er* is ma . . . . .
þat bar þ^e^ child þat . . . . . .
cert*es* bot I may s . . . . . .
ellys my hert w . . . . . .
I shal me hye w*ith* . . . . . .
hyr to mete at 3o . . . . . .
Thom*as* rathly up a . . . . . .
& ran ouyr mountay . . . . .
if it be sothe þe story . . . . .
he met hyr euyn a . . . . . .
Thom*as* knelyd down on h . . .
vndir nethe þe gr . . . . . .
And sayd 'louely lad . . . . . .
Qwene of heu . . . . . .
. . . . . [leaf 241]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

COTTON

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¶ She blewe A note, and treblyd Als,
the Ryches into the shawe gan gone;
There was no man that herd þe noyes,
Saue thomas there he lay a lone.
here cropyng was of ryche gold,
here parrell alle of Alaran;
here brydyll was of Reler bolde;
On euery side hangyd bellys then.

¶ She led iij greue hwndes in a leshe,
Seue richys aboute hir syde ran;

Thomas ley and beheld this sygħt,
vnder neth a sembly tre;
'yendyr ys that ladye most of mygħt,
That bare the chylde that blede for me.
But yf I speke with that lady brygħt,
I trowe my harte wolde breke in thre;
¶ I wyll go wyth all my mygħt,
And mete with hir at Elden tre.'
Thomas Raythly vp A Rose,
And Ran ouer that Montayne hye;
yf it be as the story sais,
[1]He met with hir at elden tre.
He knelyd vpon his kne, [1 leaf 25]
Vndernethe a grene wode spraye;
¶ 'Louely lady! rewe on me;
Quene of heuyn, as ye wele may!'
Then said that lady Mylde of þought,
'Thomas, lat suche wordes be!
For quene of heuyn am I not,
I toke neuer so hye degre.

LANSDOWNE

[2]Hir garthis of nobull silke þei were,
hir boculs þei were of barys ston; [2 leaf 119, back]
hir stiroppis thei were of cristall clere,
And alle with perry aboute be gon.
Hir paytrell was of a riall fyne,
Hir cropur was of Arafe;
Hir bridull was of golde fyne;
On every side hong bellis thre.
She led iij grehoundis in a leesshe,
viij rachis be hir fete ran;
To speke with hir wold I not seesse;
Hir lire was white as any swan.
fforsothe, lordyngis, as I yow teH,
Thus was þis lady fayre begon;
She bare a horne aboute hir halce,
And vndur hir gyrdill mony flonne.
Thomas lay and saw þat sight,
Vndurneth a semely tre;
he seid, yonde is mary of myght,
þat bare þe childe þat died for me.
But I speke with þat lady bright,
I hope my hert wille breke in thre;
But I will go with alle my myght,
Hir to mete at eldryn tre.
Thomas radly vp he rose,
And ran ouer þat mounteyn hye,
And certanly, as þe story sayes,
he hir mette at eldryne tre.
he knelid downe vpon his kne,
Vndurneth þe grenewode spray;
louely lady! þou rew on me;
qwene of heuen, as þou well may!
Than seid þat lady bright, [leaf 120]
Thomas, let such wordis be!
ffor quen of heuon am I noght,
I toke neuer so hye degre.

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Bote j ame of ane oþer countree,
If j be payrelde moste of prysse;
I ryde aftyre this wylde fee,
My raches rynnys at my devyse.' 96
'If þou be parelde moste of prysee,
And here rydis thus in thy folye,
Of lufe, lady, als þou erte wysse,
þou gyffe me leue to lye the bye!' 100
Scho sayde, 'þou mane, þat ware folye,
I praye þe, Thomas, þou late me bee;
ffor j saye þe fulle sekirlye, 103
þat synne wille for-doo alle my beaute.'
'Now, lufly ladye, rewe one mee,
And j wille euer more with the duelle;
Here my trouthe j wille the plyghte,
Whethir þou wille in heuene or helle.' 108

'Mane of Molde! þou wille me marre,
Bot ȝitt þou salle hafe alle thy wille;
And trowe it wele, þou chewys þe werre,
ffor alle my beaute wille þou spylle.' 120
Downe þane lyghte þat lady bryghte,
Vndir-nethe þat grenewode spraye;
And, als the storye tellis fulle ryghte,
Seuene sythis by hir he laye. 124
Scho sayd, 'mane, the lykes thy playe:
Whate byrde in boure maye delle with the?
Thou merrys me alle þis longe daye, [col. 2]
I praye the, Thomas, late me bee!' 128

THORNTON

. . . . . .
. . . . . most of prise
. . . . . .
. . . . . at my devys.'
. . . . . .
. . . . . lady in strange foly,
. . . . . .
þou ȝeue me leue to lige ȝe by.'
. . . . . oly
'I pray þe, thomas, late me be!
. . . . . erly
þat wolde fordo all my bewte.'
. . . . . rew on me,
& euyr more I shal with þe dwell;
. . . . . nowe I plyght to þe,
where þou byleues in heuyn or hell.'
'. . . . t þou myght lyg[e] me by,
vndir nethe þis grene wode spray,
. . . . . tell to morowe full hastely,
þat þou hade layne by a lady ga[y.]'
'. . . . . I mote lygge by þe,
vndir nethe þis gren wode tre,
. . . . ll þe golde in crystyenty,
sulde þou neuyr be wryede for me.'
'. . . on molde, þou will me marre,
And þe, bot þou may hafe þi will,
. . . þou wele, thomas, þou cheuyst þe
foll al my bewte wilt þou spyl[l.]' [warre,
. . une lyghtyd þat lady bryȝht,
vndir nethe þe gren wod spray;
. . . . þe story sayth full ryȝt,
Seuyn tymes by hyr he lay.
'. . . . yd, man, þou lyste þi play,
what berde in boure myȝt dele with ȝe?
. . . . . es me all þis longe day,
I pray þe, thomas, lat me be!'

COTTON

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¶ I am of a nothere contre,
Thowgh I be perlyd moste in pryce;
And ryde here after the wylde fe,
My raches rennyng att my deuyce.'
'Yf þou be perled most in price,
And ryde here in thy foly,
louely lady, ware wyce,
yeue me leue to lye the bye.'
¶ She said, 'man, that were foly;
I pray the Thomas lett me be;
For I the say sekerelye,
Syn wolde þou for-do al my bewte.'
'A lowly lady! reu one me,
And euer I wole withe the dwell·
My trowthe I plyght to the,
whepere þou wylt to hevyne or hell.'

But I am a lady of anoþer cuntre,
If I be parellid moost of price;
I ride afture þe wilde fee,
My raches rannen at my deuyse.
If þou be pareld most of price,
And ridis here in þi balye,
Lufly lady, as þou art wyse,
To gif me leve to lye þe by.
Do way, thomas, þat were foly;
I pray þe hertely let me be;
ffor I say the securly,
þat wolde for-do my bewte.
Lufly lady, þou rew on me,
And I shall euermore with þe dwell;
here my trouth I plight to þe,
Whedur þou wilt to heuon or hell.

¶ 'A Man of Molde! þou wolte me Mare,
And yete þou shalte haue all thy wyll;
But wete þou well, þou chece hit the war,
For all my bewte þou wolte spyll.'
A downe alyght that lady brygħt,
vnder nethe that grene wode spraye;
And, as the story tellythe ryght,
Seuen sythes by hir he laye.
¶ 'A man, þe lykythe wele thy playe:
Whate byrde in bowre may dele with the?
Thou marrest me here this long day,
I pray the, Thomas, [lett] me be!'

LANSDOWNE

Man of molde! þou wilt me marre,
But 3et þou shalt haue thy wille;
But trow þou well, þou thryuist þe warre,
ffor alle my beute þou wille spille.
Down þen light þat lady bright,
Vndurneth a grenewode spray;
And, as þe story tellus ful right, [f. 120, bk.]
vij tymes be hir he lay.
She seid, thomas, þou likis þi play:
What byrde in boure may dwel with þe?
þou marris me here þis lefe long day,
I pray the, Thomas, let me be!

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Thomas stode vpe *in* þat stede,
And he by-helde þat lady gaye;
Hir hare it hange aⱡⱡ ou*er* hir hede,
Hir eghne semede owte, þat are were graye.
And aⱡⱡe þe riche clothynge was a-waye,
þat he by-fore sawe *in* þat stede;
Hir a schanke blake, hir o*þer* graye,
And aⱡⱡ hir body lyke the lede.
Thomas laye & sawe þat syghte,
Vndir-nethe þat grenewod tree;
þan said Thomas, 'allas! allas!
In faythe þis es a dullfuⱡⱡ syghte;
How arte þou fadyde þus *in* þe face,
þat schane by-fore als þe sonne so bryght[e]!'

. . . . . ode vp in *þat* stede,
& behelde *þat* lady gay;
. . . . . hang*e* down*e* a bowte hyr hede;
hyr eyn semyt oute be sorow grey.
. . . . . thyng*e* was all away,
þat he before had sene *in* *þat* stede;
. . . . . blake, *þat* o*þer* gray,
hyr body als blo as ony lede.

. . . . . de, & sayd 'allas!
Me thynke þis is a dulfull syght;
. . . . . fadyd *in* þi face,
before þou shone as son so bryȝt.'

[& Mon[e],
Scho sayd, 'Thomas, take leue at sonne
And als at lefe *þat* grewes on tree;
This twelmonetⱨ saⱡⱡ þou *with* me gone,
And Mediⱡⱡ-ertⱨe saⱡⱡ þou none see.'
He knelyd downe appone his knee,

'. . . . . e, thomas, at son & mone,
at gresse & at eu*er*y tre;
. . . . ethe sal þou *with* me gone,
Medyl erth þou sall not se.'

THORNTON COTTON

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Thomas stode vp in that stede, [leaf 25, bk]
And behelde that shulde be gay;
hure here honge aboute hir hede,
here yene semyd out that were gray.
¶ And all hir cloþyng were Awaye,
There she stode in that stede;
her colour blak, oþer gray,
And all hir body as betyn lede.

T[h]an said Thomas, 'Alas! alas!
This is A dewellfull sight;
now is she fasyd in þe face,
that shone be fore as þe sonne bryght!'

¶ On euery syde he lokyde abowete,
he sau he myght no whare fle;
Sche woxe so grym and so stowte,
The Dewyll he wende she had be.
In the Name of the trynite,
he coniuryde here anon) Ryght,
That she shulde not come hym nere,
But wende away of his syght.
¶ She said, 'Thomas, this is no nede,
For fende of hell am I none;
For the now am I grete desese,
And suffre paynis many one.
this xij Mones þou shalt with me gang,
And se the maner of my lyffe;
for thy trowche thou hast me tane,
Ayene þat may ye make no stryfe.
¶ Tak thy leue of sone and Mone,
And the lefe that spryngyth on tre;
þis xij monthes þou most with me gone,
Middylle erthe þou shalt not se.'

LANSDOWNE

Thomas stondand in þat sted,
And beheld þat lady gay;
hir here þat hong vpon hir hed,
hir een semyd out, þat were so gray.
And alle hir clothis were Away,
þat here before saw in þat stede;
þe too þe blak, þe toþur gray,
þe body bloo as beten leed.

Thomas seid, Alas! Alas!
In feith þis is a dolfull sight;
þat þou art so fadut in þe face,
þat before schone as sunne bright!

Take þi leve, thomas, at sune & mone,
And also at levys of eldryne tre;
This twelmond shall þou with me gon,
þat mydul erth þou shalt not se.
he knelyd downe vpon his kne,

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Vndir-nethe þat grenewod spraye;
And sayd, 'lufly lady! rewe on mee,
Mylde qwene of heuene, als þou beste maye.
Allas!' he sayd, '& wa es mee!
I trowe my dedis wyll wirke me care;
My saulle, jhesu, by-teche j the,
Whedir-some þat euer my banes sall fare.'
Scho ledde hym jn at Eldone hill,
Vndir-nethe a derne lee;
Whare it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,
And euer þe water till his knee.
The montenans of dayes three,
He herd bot swoghynge of þe flode;
At þe laste, he sayde, 'full wa es mee!
Almaste j dye, for fawte of f[ode.]'
Scho lede hym in-till a faire herbere,
Whare frwte was g[ro]wan[dgret plentee;]
[1]Pere and appill, bothe ryppe þay were,
The date, and als the damasee; [1 If 150, bk]
þe fygge, and als so þe wyneberye;
The nyghtgales byggande on þair neste;
þe papeioyes faste abowte gane flye;
And throstylls sange wolde hafe no reste.
He pressede to pulle frowyte with his hande,
Als mane for fude þat was nere faynt;
Scho sayd, 'Thomas! þou late þame stande,
Or ells þe fende the will atteynt.
If þou it plokk, sothely to saye,
Thi saule gose to þe fyre of helle;
It commes neuer owte or domesdaye,
Bot þer jn payne ay for to duelle.
Thomas, sothely, j the hyghte,
Come lygge thyne hede downe on my knee,
And [þou] sall se þe fayreste syghte,
þat euer sawe mane of thi contree.'
He did in hye als scho hym badde;

THORNTON

. . . . . ll wo is me!
I trowe my dedes will werke me care:
. . . . . ake to þe,
Whedir so euyr my body sal fare.'
. . . . . h with all hyr myȝt,
vndir nethe þat derne lee;
. . . . . s derke as at mydnyȝt,
& euyr in watyr vnto þe kne.
. . . . . of dayes thre
he herde but swowynge of a flode;
. . . . s sayde, 'ful wo is me,
Nowe I spyll for fawte of fode.'
. . . . . she lede hym tyte;
þer was fruyte gret plente;
. . . . . les þer were rype,
þe date & þe damese;
. . . . . fylbert tre;
þe nyghtyngale bredynge in hyr neste;
. . . . . a bowte gan fle.
þe throstylkoke sange wolde hafe no . . .
. . . . . pulle fruyt with hys hande;

as man for fawte þat was . . . . .
. . . . . 'lat all stande,
er els þe deuyl wil þe ataynte,

. . . . . tomas, I þe hyȝt,
& lay þi hede vp on my kne;
. . . . . a fayrer syȝt,
þat euyr sawe man in þu kontre.

COTTON

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'Alas!' he said, 'full wo is me,
I trowe my werkes wyll wryche me care;
My soule, Ihesu, I be take the,
Where on erthe my body shall fare.' 168
[1¶ She lede hym downe at eldeñ hyll,
vnder neth a derne le, [1 leaf 26]
In weys derke þat was full ylle,
And euer water vp to his kne. 172
The monetaynis of dayes thre
he harde but swoyng of the flode;
Att the last he said, 'full wo is me!
All most I dye for defawte of fode.' 176
¶ Sche browght hym tyl A fayre erbore,
where fruyt growyd grete plente;
Peres and Apples Rype they were,
Datys and the damyse; 180
the fyges and the pynnene fre;
the nyghtyngalle byldyng hire nest;
the popyngay abowte gan fle,
the throssell song hauyng no rest. 184
¶ Thomas presyd to pull the frute with his hand,
As man for fode hade been feynte;
Sche said, 'Thomas, let that stonde, 187
Or elles þe dewele wole the Ateynte:
Yf þou pull there of Asay,
Thowe mygħt be damned into hell;
Thowe commyst neuer owte agayne,
But euer in payn þou shalt dweħ. 192
¶ But Thomas southly I the hegħt,
Come ley thy hed on my kne,
And þou shall se the farest sigħt,
that euer saw man of thy contrey. 196

LANSDOWNE

To mary mylde he made his mone:
Lady! but þou rew on me,
Alle my games fro me ar gone.
Alas! he seyd, woo is me, [leaf 121]
I trow my dedis wil wyrk me woo;
Ihesu, my soule beteche I the,
Wher so euer my bonys shall goo.
She led hym to þe eldryn hiħt,
Vndurneth þe grenewode lee,
Wher hit was derk as any hell,
And euer water tille þe knee.
þer þe space of dayes thre,
he herd but þe noyse of þe flode;
At þe last, he seid, wo is me!
Almost I dye, for fowte of fode.
She led hym into a fayre herbere,
þer frute groande was gret plente;
peyres and appuls, bothe ripe þei were,
þe darte and also þe damsyn tre;
þe fygge and also þe white bery;
þe nyghtyngale biggyng hir nest,
þe popyniay fast about gan flye,
þe throstill song wolde haue no rest.
he presed to pul þe fr[ute with] his honde,
As man for fode was nyhonde feynte;
She seid, thomas, let þem stande,
Or ellis þe feend [will] þe ateynte.
If þou pulle, þe sothe to sey, [leaf 121, back]
þi soule goeth to þe fyre of hell;
hit cummes neuer out til domus day,
But þer euer in payne to dwelle.
She seid, thomas, I þe hight,
Come lay þi hed on my kne,
And þou shalle se þe feyrest sight,
þat euer saw mon of þi cuntre.
He leyd down his hed as she hym badde;

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Appone hir knee his hede he layde,
ffor hir to paye he was fulH glade,
And þane þat lady to hym sayde:
'Seese þou nowe 3one faire waye,
þat lygges ouer 3one heghe mountayne?—
3one es þe waye to heuene for aye,
Whene synfulH sawles are passede þer
Seese þou nowe 3one oþer waye,
þat lygges lawe by-nethe 3one rysse?
3one es þe waye þe sothe to saye,
Vn-to þe joye of paradyse.
Seese þou 3itt 3one thirde waye,
þat ligges vndir 3one grene playne?
3one es þe waye, with tene and traye,
Whare synfulH saulis suffirris þaire payne.
Bot seese þou nowe 3one ferthe waye,
þat lygges ouer 3one depe deHe?
3one es þe waye, so waylawaye,
Vn-to þe birnande fyre of heHe.
Seese þou 3itt 3one faire casteHe,
[þat standis ouer] 3one heghe hiH?
[1]Of towne & towre, it beris þe beHe;
In erthe es none lyke it vn-tiH. [1 col. 2]
ffor sothe, Thomas, 3one es myne awenne,
And þe kynges of this Countree;
Bot me ware leuer be hanged & drawene,
Or þat he wyste þou laye me by.
When þou commes to 3one castelle gaye,
I pray þe curtase mane to bee;
And whate so any mane to þe saye,
Luke þou answere none bott mee.
My lorde es seruede at ylk a mese,
With thritty knyghttis faire & free;
I saH saye syttande at the desse,
I tuke thi speche by-3onde the see.'
Thomas stiH als stane he stude,
And he by-helde þat lady gaye;

THORNTON

. . . . . tomas, 3one fayre way,
þat lyggys ouyr 3one fayr playn?
. . . . . ay to heuyn for ay,
whan synfull sawles haf ful . . . .
. . . . . is 3one secund way,
þat ligges lawe vndir þe rese?
. . . . . ay, sothly to say,
. . . to þe joyes of paradyse.

. . . . . s 3one thyrde way,
þat lygges ouyr 3one . . .
. . . . . sothly to say,
to þe brynnyng fyer of hell.
. . . . . 3one fayr castell,
þat standes ouyr 3one . . .
. . . . . [leaf 241, back]
. . . . . .
. . . . . tomas . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . hade leuer be han . .
. . . . . .
whan þu comyst in 3one . .
. . . . . .
what so any man to þe say,
s . . . . . .
My lorde is seruyd at eche mese,
with thry . . . . . .
I sall say, syttynge on þe dese,
I toke þi sp . . . . . .
Thomas stode as still as stone,
& byhelde þat lady . . . .

COTTON

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Seest thow yender that playn̄ way,
That lyeth̄ ouer youre playn̄ so cuyne?
That is the wey, sothely to say,
To the hight blysse of hewyne.

¶ Seyst þou yendyr, A noþer way,
That lyeth̄ yendyr vnder the grene Ryce?
T[h]at is the wey, sothely to say,
To the Ioye of paradyce.
Seyst þow yender thrid way,
[1]That lyeth̄ vnder that hye Montayne?
that is the wey, sothely to say, [1 leaf 26, bk]
where synfull soulis sofferis payne.

¶ Seyst þou yendur forthere way,
that lyeth yendur full fell?
hit it the wey, sothely to saye,
To the brynyng fyer of hell.
Seist þou yonder, that fayre castell,
that standyth̄ hye vpon̄ that hyll?
of Townys and towris it berys the bell;
On erthe is lyke non̄ oþer tyll.

¶ Forsothe, Thomas, that is myne owne,
And the kyngis of this countre;
Me were as goode be hengyd or brent,
As he wyst þou layst me bye.
when̄ thou commyst to þe pendyr castell
I pray the curtace man þou be; [gay,
And what any man to the say,
loke þou answere no man̄ but me.

¶ My lorde is seruyd at the Messe,
with̄ xxx^{ti} bolde barons and thre.
And I wyll say, sittyng at þe deyce,
I toke the speche at elden tre.'
Thomas stode styll as stone,
And behelde this lady gay;

LANSDOWNE

His hed vpon hir kne he leide,
hir to pleese he was full̄ gladde,
And þen þat lady to hym she seide:
Sees þou 3ondur fayre way
þat lyes ouer 3ondur mownteyne?
3ondur is þe way to heuen for ay,
Whan synful sowlis haue duryd þer peyn.
Seest þou now, thomas, 3ondur way,
þat lyse low vndur 3on rise?
3ondur is þe way, þe sothe to say,
Into þe ioyes of paradyse.
Sees þou 3onder thrid way,
þat lyes ouer 3ondur playne?
3onder is þe way, þe sothe to say,
þer sinfull soules schalle drye þer payne.
Sees þou now 3ondur fourt way, [leaf 122]
þat lyes ouer 3ondur felle?
3onder is þe way, þe sothe to say,
Vnto þe brennand fyre of hell.
Sees þou now 3ondur fayre castell̄,
þat stondis vpon 3ondur fayre hill̄?
Off towne & toure, it berith þe bell;
In mydul erth is non like þer-till.
In faith, thomas, 3ondur is myne owne,
And þe kyngus of þis cuntre;
but me were bettur be hengud & drawyn,
þen he wist þat þou lay be me.
My lorde is serued at ilk a messe, (229)
with xxx^{ti} knyȝtis fayre & fre;
And I shalle say, sittyng at þe deese,
I toke þi speche be 3onde þe lee. (232)
Whan þou comes to 3ondur castell̄ gay,
I pray þe curtes man to be; (226)
And what so euer any man to þe say,
Loke þou answer non but me. (228)
Thomas stondyng in þat stode,
And be helde þat lady gay;

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Scho come agayne als faire & gude,
And also ryche one hir palfraye.

Hir grewehundis fillide *with* dere blode;
Hir raches couplede by my faye;
Scho blewe hir horne, *with* mayne & mode,
Vn-to ȝe castelle scho tuke ȝe waye.
In-to ȝe haulle sothely scho went;
Thomas foloued at hir hande;
Than ladyes come, bothe faire & gent,
Wiłh curtassye to hir knelande.
Harpe & fethiłl bothe ȝay fande,
Getterne, and als so ȝe sawtrye;
Lutte and rybybe bothe gangande,
And ałl manere of mynstralsye.
ȝe moste meruelle ȝat Thomas thoghte,
Whene ȝat he stode appone ȝe flore;
ffor feftty hertis jn were broghte,
ȝat were bothe grete and store.
Raches laye lapande in ȝe blode,
Cokes come *with* dryssynge knyfe;
Thay brittened ȝame als ȝay were wode,
Reuelle amanges ȝame was fułl ryfe.
[1]Knyghtis dawnesede by three and three,
There was revelle, gamene, and playe;
Lufly ladyes faire and free,
[1 leaf 151]

THORNTON

ȝan was she fayr & ryche onone,
& also ryal on hyr . . . .

ȝe grewhondes had fylde ȝaim on ȝe dere,
& ratches . . . . . .
she blew hyr horne, thomas to chere,
& to ȝe castel she to . . . . . .
ȝe lady in to ȝe hall went,
thomas folowyd at hyr h . . . .
ȝar kept hyr mony a lady gent,
with curtasy & lawe kne . . . .
harpe & fedyl both he fande,
ȝe getern & ȝe sawtery;
Lut & rybib ȝer gon gange,
ȝer was all maner of mynstralsy.
ȝe most ferly ȝat thomas thoght,
whan he come o myddes . . . . . .
fourty hertes to quarry were broȝt,
ȝat had ben before both sty . . .
lymors lay lapynge blode,
& kokes standyng *with* dressynge . . .
& dressyd dere as ȝai were wode,
& reuell was ȝer wonder r . . .
knyȝtes dansyd by two & thre,
all ȝat leue lange day;
ladyes ȝat were gret of gre,

COTTON

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Sche was as white as whelys bone,
And as Ryche on hir palefray.

¶ Thomas said, 'lady, wele is me,
that euer I baide this day;
nowe ye bene so fayre and whyte,
By fore ye war so blake and gray!
I pray you that ye wyll me say,
lady, yf thy wyll be,
why ye war so blake and graye?
ye said it was be cause of me.'

¶ 'For sothe, and I had not been so,
Sertayne sothe I shall the tell; [leaf 27]
Me had been as good to goo,
To the brynnyng fyre of hell;
My lorde is so fers and fell,
that is king of this contre,
And fulle sone he wolde haue y^e smell,
of the defaute I did with the.'

¶ In to the halle worldely they went,
Thomas folowde at hir honde;
Forthe came ladyes fayre and gent,
Curtesly Ayene hir kneland.
Harpe and fythell bothe they foynd,
the sytoll and the sawtery;
the gytorne and rybbe gan goyn,
And all maner of Menstrally.

¶ þe noeste ferly that thomas hade,
when he was stondyng on the flowre,
the gretest hert of alle hys londe,
that was stronge, styfe, and store;
Raches lay lapyng of his blode,
And kokes with dressyng knywys A hande,
Trytlege the dere, as they were wode,
there was Ryfe, reuoll Amonge.

¶ Knyghtys dawnsyng by iij and thre,
there was reuell, game, and play;
louely ladyes, fayre and fre,

LANSDOWNE

She was as feyre and as gode,
And as riche on hir palfray.

[1] Hir greyhoundis fillid with þe dere blode;
Hir rachis coupuld be my fay; [1 lf 122, bk]
She blew hir horne, on hir palfray gode,
And to þe castell she toke þe way.
Into a hall sothly she went;
Thomas folud at hir hande;
Ladis came, bothe faire & gent,
fful curtesly to hir kneland.
harpe and fidul both þei fande,
þe getern, and also þe sautry;
þe lute and þe ribybe both gangand,
And alle maner of mynstralcy.
knyȝtis dawnsyng be thre & thre,
þer was revel, both game & play;
þer ware ladys, fayre and fre,
Dawnsyng [one ric]he aray. (272)
þe grettist ferlye þat thomas thoȝt,
when xxx^ti hartis ley [up]on flore;
And as mony dere in were broght,
þat was largely long & store. (264)
Rachis lay lappand on þe dere blode,
þe cokys þei stode with dressyng knyves;
Brytnand þe dere as þei were wode;

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That satte and sange one riche araye.
Thomas duellide in that solace
More þane j 3owe saye parde;
Till one a daye, so hafe I grace,
My lufly lady sayde to mee:
'Do buske the, Thomas, þe buse agayne;
ffor þou may here no lengare be;
Hye the faste with myghte & mayne,
I sall the brynge till Eldone tree.'
Thomas sayde þane with heuy chere,
'Lufly lady, nowe late me bee,
ffor certis, lady, j hafe bene here
Noghte bot þe space of dayes three!'
'ffor sothe, Thomas, als j þe telle,
þou hase bene here thre 3ere & more;
Bot langere here þou may noghte duelle,
The skylle j sall þe telle whare-fore:
To Morne, of helle þe foulle fende.
Amange this folke will feche his fee;
And þou arte mekill mane and hende,
I trowe full wele he wolde chese the.
ffor alle þe golde þat euer may bee,
ffro hethyne vn-to þe worldis ende,
þou bese neuer be-trayede for mee;
Þere-fore with me j rede thou wende.'
Scho broghte hym agayne to Eldoñe tree,
Vndir-nethe þat grenewode spraye;
In huntlee bannkes es mery to bee,
Whare fowles synges bothe nyght & daye.
'fferre owtt in 3one Mountane graye,
Thomas, my fawkone bygges a neste;
A fawconne es an Erlis praye,
ffor-thi in na place may he reste. [1 col. 2]
[1]ffare wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,
ffor me by-houys ouer thir benttis browne.'
loo here a fytt more es to saye,
Alle of Thomas of Erselldowne.

THORNTON

sat & sange of ryche aray.
Thomas sawe more in þat place,
þan I kan discry pard[e];
Til on a day, allas! allas!
My louely lady sayd to . .
'buske þe, thomas, þou most agayn,
here þou may no la . . . . .
hy þe 3erne at þou wer at hame,
I sall þe brynge to . . . . . .'
thomas answerd with heuy chere,
& sayd, 'louely lady, lat . . . .
for I say þe sertenly, here
hafe I be bot þe space of d . . . . .'
'Sothly, tomas, as I tell þe,
þou hath ben here thre 3ere . . . . .
& here þou may no langer be,
& I sall tell þe a skele . . . . . .
to morowe, of hell þe foule fende,
A mang oure . . . . . .
for þou art a large man, & an hende,
trowe þou wele . . . . . .
for all þe golde þat may be,
fro hens vnto þe wor . . . . . .
sal þou not be bytrayed for me;
& þer for sall þou hens . . . .
She broȝt hym euyn to eldon tre,
vndir neth þe gr . . . . . .
In huntle bankes was fayre to be,
þer breddis syng . . . . . .
Ferre ouyr 3on montayns gray,
þer hathe my facon . . . . .

COTTON

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Satte syttyng in A ryall Araye.
Thomas dwellyd in that place
longer þan I sey, parde,
Tyll one day, by fyll that cace,
To hym spake that ladyes fre.

¶ 'Buske the, Thomas, thou most
for here þou may no lenger be; [Ayene,
[1]hye the fast with Mode and Mayne,
I shalte the bryng at elden tre.' [1127, bk]
Thomas said, with heuy chere,
'louely lady, lat me be!
For certaynlye, I haue beñ here
But the space of dayes þre.'

¶ 'Forsoth, Thomas, I wolle the tell,
thou hast been her iij yere and More;
And here þou may no lenger dwell,
I shall the tell A skele wherefore;
To morowe, a fowle fend of hell,
A Mongis this folke shall chese his fe,
And for thou arte long man and hende,
I lewe wele, he wyll haue þe.
¶ And for all the goode that euer myght be,
For hevene to the worldris ende,
Shalt þou neuer be bytrayed by me;
þere fore I rede the with me wend.'
She browght hym Ageyn to elden tre,
Vnder neth A grene wode spray;
In huntely bankes is man to be,
Where fowlis syngith nyght and day.

¶ 'For ouere youre Montayne graye,
Where my fawcoñe beldith his nest,
the fawcone is the herons pray,
therefore in no place may she Rest.
Faire wele, Thomas, I wende my way,
Me bous ouere yowre brwtes broume.'
Here is A foott, And tway to say,
Of Thomas of Assildoun.

Reuell was among þem rife. (268)
There was reuell, game, & play, [leaf 123]
More þan I yow say parde
Tille hit fel vpon a day,
My lufly lady seid to me:
Buske þe, thomas, for þou most gon,
ffor here no longur mayst þou be;
hye þe fast, with mode and mone;
I shalle þe bryng to eldyn tre.
Thomas answerid with heuy chere,
Lufly lady, þou let me be;
ffor certenly, I haue be here
But þe space of dayes thre.
ffor sothe, thomas, I þe telle,
þou hast bene here seuen 3ere and more;
ffor here no longur may þou dwell,
I shal tel þe the skyl wherfore:
To morou, on of hel, a fowle fende,
Among þese folke shal chese his fee;
þou art a fayre man and a hende,
fful wel I wot he wil chese the.
ffor alle þe golde þat euer myght be,
ffro heuon vnto þe wordis ende,
þou beys neuer trayed for me;
ffor[th] with me I rede the wende.
She broght hym agayn to eldyn tre,
Vndurneth þe grenewode spray;
In huntley bankis þis for to be, [leaf 123, bk]
ther foulys syng boþe ny3t & day,
'ffor out ouer 3on mownten gray,
Thomas, a fowken makis his nest;
A fowkyn is an yrons pray,
ffor þei in place wiH haue no rest.
ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way,
ffor me most ouer 3on bentis brown.'
This is a fytte; twayn ar to sey,
Off Thomas of Erseltown.

LANSDOWNE
ERCILDOUN.

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[FYTT THE SECONDE.]

'Fare wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,
I may no lengare stande with the!'
'Gyff me a tokynynge, lady gaye,
That j may saye j spake with the.'
'To harpe or carpe, whare-so þou gose,
Thomas, þou salt hafe þe chose sothely.'
And he saide, 'harpynge kepe j none;
ffor tonge es chefe of mynstralsye.'
'If þou wilt spelle, or tales telle,
Thomas, þou salt neuer lesynge lye,
Whare euer þou fare, by frythe or felle,
I praye the, speke none euyll of me!
ffare wele, Thomas, with-owttyne gyle,
I may no lengare duelle with the.'
'Lufly lady, habyde a while,
And telle þou me of some ferly!'
'Thomas, herkyne what j the saye:
Whene a tree rote es dede,
The leues fadis þane & wytis a-waye;
& froyte it beris nane þane, whyte ne rede.
Of þe baylliolfe blod so salt it falle:
It salt be lyke a rotyne tree;
The comyns, & þe Barlays alle,
The Russells, & þe ffreselis free,

THORNTON

[*Sloane* 2578, *leaf* 6 (*begins at Fytt* 2).]

[FYTT THE SECOND.]

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij[d] fytt I saye of Sir thomas of Arseldon.

'Farewell, thomas, I wend my waye;
I may no lenger dwell with the.'
'Guyve me some token, Lady gaye,
that I may saye I spake with the.'
'to harpe or carpe, whither thowe can,
thomas, þou shalt haue sothely.'
he said 'herpinge kepe I none;
for tonge is chief of mynstrelsy.'
'& þou wilt speake, & tales tell,
thowe shalt neuer leasynge lye;
whither þou walke by frythe or fell,
I pray the, speake none ivell by me!
Fare well, thomas, withouten gile,
I may no lenger abide with the.'
'Lovly lady, abide a while,
and some ferly tell thowe me!'
'thomas, herken what I shall saye:
when a tre rote is deade,
the leaves faden & fallen awaye,
Fruyt it bearethe none on in elde.
[*No break in the MS.*]
the baly of blud it shalbe,
their comens, & per barons all,
the Russelles, & þe fresselles fre,

SLOANE

Continuation of COTTON *Manuscript.*

[FYT THE SECOND.]

Fare wele thomas I wende my way · I may no lang
[Gyfe] me a tokyn lady gay · If euyr I se 3ow w
[To ha]rpe or carp wher þat þou gon · þou sal hafe þ
thomas sayde harpyng kep I non · for tonge is che[f
[Fare] wele thomas for nowe I go · I will no langer sta[y

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[FOOTT THE SECOND.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;
I may no langer dwell *with* the.'
['G]yf sum tokyne, my lady gay, [leaf 23]
that eu*er* I saw the w*ith* my ye'
'To harp or carp, where eu*er* I gone,
Thomas, þou shalt chese soþele.'
'I, lady, harpyng wyll I none,
For towngе is cheffe Mynstralye.'
¶ 'Yf þou wolte speke, or talis tell,
lesyng*es* shalt þou neuer lye;
But where þou go by fryþ or fell,
I pray the, speke no ewylle by me!
Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my wey;
I may no langer*e* dwell *with* the.'
'yete, louely lady! goode and gay,
A byde and tell me More ferlye.'

[FYTTE THE SECOND.]

'Fare wel, Thom*as*, I wend may,
I may no leng*ur* stand *with* the!'
'gif me su*m* tokyn, lady gay,
þ*at* I may say I spake w*ith* the.'
To harpe or carpe, thom*as*, wher so eu*er*
Thom*as*, take þe chese w*ith* the. [3e gon,
harpyng, he seid, kepe I non,
ffor tong is chefe of mynstralse.
"If þou wil spiłł, or talys telle,
Thom*as*, þou shal neu*er* make lye;
Wher so eu*er* þou gos, be frith or felle,
I pray þe, speke neu*er* no ille of me!
ffare wel, Thom*as*, and wel þou be;
I can no leng*ur* stand þe by.'
'Lovely lady, fayre & fre,
Tel me 3et of som farley!'
'Thom*as*, truly I þe say: [leaf 124]
Whan a tre rote is ded,
þe levys fal, and dwyne away;
ffrute hit berys, ned*ur* white nor red.
So shalle þ*is* folkys blode be fałł,
þ*at* shal be like 3on roten tre;
þe semewes & þe telys ałł,
þe resułł & þe frechel fre,

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[Louely] lady wo is me so · A byde & tell me [some] fe
[Herken] thom*as* as I þe sey · whan þe trees rode is de
[The leues] fallyth & wastyth a way · it beryth no fruy
[. . . . . bali]oves blode be fall · I lyken to þe ro
[. . . . . .] & þes elders all · all for soth a way

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AH saH þay fade, and wyte a-waye;
Na ferly if þat froyte than dye.
And mekiH bale saH after spraye,
Whare joye & blysse was wonte [to bee;]
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende m[y waye]
I may no langer stand w[ith the.]'
'Now lufly lady gud [and gay]
Telle me ȝitt of some ferly!' [leaf 151, back]
'Whatkyns ferlys, Thomas gude,
Sold j þe telle, and thi wiHs bee?'
'Telle me of this gentiH blode,
Wha saH thrife, and wha saH thee:
Wha saH be kynge, wha saH be noñe,
And wha saH welde this northe countre?
Wha saH flee, & wha saH be tane,
And whare thir bateHs donne saH bee?'
'Thomas, of a BateHe j saH þe teHe,
þat saH be done righte sone at wiHe:
Beryns saH mete bothe fers & feHe,
And freschely fighte at Eldone hiHe.
The Bretons blode saH vndir fete,
þe Bruyse blode saH wyne þe spraye;
Sex thowsande ynglysche, wele þou wete,
SaH there be slayne, þat jlk daye.
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende my waye;
To stande with the, me thynk fuH jrke.
Of a bateH j wiH the saye,
þat saH be done at fawkirke:

THORNTON

all shall fade & fall awaye,
no farly then if þat fruyt dye!
and mykell bale shall after spraye, [lf 6, bk]
wheare that blis was wont to be.
farewell, thomas, I wend my waye;
I maye no lenger stande with the.'
'Lovly Lady, good & gaye,
tell me yet of somme farle!'
'what kyns farly, thomas good,
shuld I the tell, if thi will be?'
'tell, of the gentle blud
who shall vnthrive, & who shall the;
who shalbe kynge, who shalbe none,
who shall weld þe northe contre?
who shall fle, who shalbe tane,
& wheare þe battell; done shalbe?'
'of a battelle I will the telle,
that shalbe done sonne at will:
birdes shall mete, both fresshe & fell,
& fyersly fight at eldon hill.
the brusse blud shall vnder gonge,
the bretens shall wynne all þe praye;
thre thowsand scottes, on þe grownde,
shalbe slayne that ilk daye.
farewell, thomas, I wend my waye;
to stand with the me thynk it irk.
of a battell I will the saye,
that shalbe done at fowse kyrk;

SLOANE

COTTON

[Farew]ele thomas I wende my waye · I may no langer s
[Louely lady] gentyl & gay · a bide & tele me so
{ [2 *lines lost at top of page*] [leaf 242]
{ . . . . . .
ll] weld þe north cun

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Alle shalle falle, & dwyn away;
No wondur þoȝ þe rote dy.
And mekiH bale shal afturspray,
þer ioy and blisse were wont to be.
ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way;
I may no lengur stand þe by.'
'lufly lady, gude and gay,
telle me ȝet of som ferly!'

¶ 'What kynne, Thomas, ferly gode,
wold ye fayn wete of me?'
'Lady, of this gentyll blode
who shall þryue, and who shall þe;
who shalbe kyng, and who shall be none,
And where any battell done shall be,
who shall be slaye, who shalbe Tane,
And who shall wyne the north Contre?'
¶ 'Of A batell I shall the tell,
that shalbe done sone at wyll:
Barons shall mete, boith fers and fell,
And freslye fyght at helydowne hyll.

Fare wele, Thomas, I wende my way,
To stande here me thinke it yrke;
But of A batell I shall the say
that shalbe don at faw Chirch.

LANSDOWNE

'What kyns ferly, thomas gode,
Shuld I tel þe, if þi wil be?'
'telle me of þis gentil blode,
Who shal thrife, and who shal the;
Who shal be kyng, who shall be non,
And who shal weld þe north cuntre;
Who shall fle, & who shal be tane,
And wher þes batelis don shal be?'
'Off a batelle I will þe tell,
þat shall come sone at will: [1 leaf 124, back]
[1]Barons shaH mete, both fre and feH,
And fresshely feȝt at ledyn hill.
the brucys blode shalle vndur faH,
the bretens blode shaH wyn þe spray;
C. thowsand men þer shal be slayn,
Off scottysshe men þat nyght and day.
ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way;
To stande with the, me thynk full yrke!
Off þe next bat[elle] I will þe say,
þat shall be at fawkyrke:

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

e] wher þes batels don sal b[e]
þt sal be done ful son at wyll
r]yke & fell · & freshly fyȝt at halyndon hill
e]nde my way · to stonde with þe me thynk ful yrke
sall] ye say · þat sal be don at fawkyrke

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Baners saħ stande, bothe lang & lange;
Trowe this wele, *with* mode & mayne;
The bruysse blode saħ vndir gane,
Seuene thowsande scottis *þer* saħ be slayne.
ffare wele, Thom*as*, j p*ray* þe sesse;
No lengare here þ*ou* tarye mee;
My grewehundis, þay breke þaire lesse,
And my raches þaire copiłs in three.
Loo! whare þe dere, by twa and twa,
Haldis ou*er* ȝone Montane heghe.'
Thomas said, 'god schilde þou gaa!

Bot telle me ȝitt of some ferly.'

baner*ȝ* shall stand, longe & longe;
trowe þ*ou* well, w*ith* mode & mayne;
the brusse blod shall vnder gonge, [leaf 7]
v. thowsand scott*es* shalbe slayne.

farewell, thom*as*, I p*raye* the cease;
no lenger heare þ*ou* tary me;
my greyhownd*es* breaken the flesshe,
& my ratchett*es* their coupull*es* in thre.
loke howe þe deare, by ij & ij,
rvn*n* ou*er* yonder mountain high!'
thom*as* said, 'god shild thowe goo!

but tell me yet of som*e* farly.'

['Of a] batelle, j saħ the saye,
[That saħ] gare ladyse morne *in* mode;
[. . . .]e, bothe wat*er* & claye
Saħ be mengyde w*ith* mannes blode: [col. 2]
Stedis saħ stombiħ wiţħ tresouñe,
Bothe Baye & broun*e*, grysselle and graye;
Gentiħ knyghtis saħ stombiħ dowñe,
Thorowe þe takynge of a wykkide waye.
þe Bretons blode saħ vndir faħe;
The Bryusse blode saħ wyn*e* þe spraye;

'of a battell I will the saye,
that shall garr ladies to morne in mode:
at bannokb*urn*e, bothe wat*er* & claye,
it shalbe mynged w*ith* red blud.
steades shall stvmbull w*ith* treasoñ,
w*ith* blak & browne, grysell & graye;
& ientill knight*es* shall tvmbull downe,
thurgh*e* takinge of a wicked waye.
þe bretens blud shall vnder fall,
the brusse shall wy*n*ne all the p*raye*;

THORNTON SLOANE

COTTON

sal stonde both large & lange · trowe þou wel .t. w*ith* mode & mayn
blode sal vndir gange · vj thowsand of ynglych *þer* sal be sla[yn]
le .t. for now I go · I may no lang*er* stande w*ith* þe
hondes breke þair leches in two · my raches shere hyr coples *in* thre
ȝone dere by two & two · holdes ouyr ȝone lange le

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¶ Baners shall stande there A longe,
Trowe þe wele, *with* Mode and Mayne;
the bratones blode shall vndere gange,
[1]A thowsand englysche there shalbe slayne. [1 leaf 28, back]
fare wele, Thomas, I pray þou sese,
I May no langere dwele *with* the;
My greyhondes brekyng here leyse,
And my Raches here Cowples a thre.
¶ Lo, where the dere, by two and ij,
holdes owere yoñe Montayn hye!'
'God forbeide!' saide Thomas, 'þou fro me go,
Or More of the warres þou tell me.'

'Of a batale I shall the say,
that shall Make ladies morne in Mode:
Bankes bourne, wattere and clay,
Shall be Mengyd *with* Mannis blode;
¶ Stedes shall snapre throwgh̄t tresoun,
Both̄e bay and browñe, bresyll and gray;
Gentyll Knyghtes shall tumbell dowñe,
thrwgh̄ takyn of A wrong way.
Bretons blode shall vndere fall,
the Ebruys there shall wyne the pray;

LANSDOWNE

þe bretans blode shalle vndur faht,
þe brucys blode shalle wyn þe spray;
vij thousynd Englisshe men, grete & smalle,
ther shalbe slayne, [þat] nyght and day.
ffare wel, [tho]mas, [I] pray þe sees;
No lengur here þou tary me;
lo wher my grayhoundis breke þer leesshe;
My raches breke þeir coupuls in thre.
lo, qwer þe dere goos be too & too,
And holdis ouer 3onde mownten hye!'
Thomas seid, 'god [schilde thou] goo,

But tell me 3et of sum ferly!
holde þi greyhoundis in þi h[onde,]
And coupiht þi raches to a [tre;] [2 leaf 125]
[2]And lat þe dere reyke ouer þe londe;
ther is a herde in holtely.'
'Off a batell I wil þe say,
þat shalle gar ladys mourne in mode:
At barnokys barne is watur & clay,
þat shal be myngyd with mannys blode.
And stedys shalle stumbuht for treson,
bothe bay and brown, grisell & gray;
And gentil kny3tis shalle tombuht doun,
thoro tokyn of þat wyckud way.
the Bretans blode shalle vndur faht,
the brutys blode shalle [wyn] þe spray;

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

say lady gode shelde 3e go · abyde & tel me som ferle
attel I can þe say · Sal gar ladies morn in mode
kes borne both water & clay · It sal be mengyd with rede blode
[Stedes] sal stumbyl thrugh tresoun · both bay & broun gresel & gray
l knyghtes sal tumbyl doun · for takyng of a wylsom way

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Sex thowsand ynglysche, grete & smalee,
Sall there be slane, þat jlk a daye.
Than sall scottland kyngles stande;
Trow it wele, þat j the saye!
A tercelet, of the same lande,
To bretane sall take þe Redy waye,
And take *tercelettis* grete and graye,
With hym owte of his awene contree;
Thay sall wende on an ryche arraye,
And come agayne by land and see.
He sall stroye the northe contree,
Mare and lesse hym by-forne;
Ladyse sall saye, allas! & walowaye!
þat eu*er* þat Royalle blode was borne.
He sall ryse vpe at kynke horne,
And tye þe chippis vn-to þe sande.
At dipplynge more, appone þe Morne,
Lordis will thynke full lange to stande;
By-twix depplynge and the dales,
The watir þat rynnes one rede claye—
There sall be slayne, for sothe, Thomas,
Eleuene thowsandez scottis, þat nyghte & daye.
Thay sall take a townne of grete renownne,
þat standis nere the wat*er* of Taye;
þe ffadir & þe sone sall be dongene downe,
And *with* strakis strange be slaynea-waye.

THORNTON

vj thowsand Englishe, greate & small,
shalbe slayne þat ilk daye.
then shall scotland stande;
trowe thowe well, as I the saye!
a tarslet of the same land
to breten shall wynde þe redy waye;
& take tarslett*es*, greate & gaye,
with him, owte of his awne contre;
ther shall winde in riche araye, [leaf 7, back]
& comme againe by land & seye.
he shall stroye þe northe contre,
moare & les him before;
lades, welawaye! shall crye,
þat eu*er* þe baly of blud was borne.
he shall ryse vp at kynkborne,
& slaye lordes vpo*n* the sand;
to foplynge moore, vpo*n* þe morne,
lordes will think full longe to stand.
betwin þe depplinge & þe dasse—
þe wat*er* þer ren*n*ynge on þe red claye—
þer shalbe slayne, forsothe, thom*as*,
xi thowsand scott*es*, þat night & daye.
they shall take a towne of greate renowne,
that standethe neare þe water of taye;
the father & þe so*n*ne shalbe donge downe,
with strok*es* stronge be slaine awaye.

SLOANE

COTTON

w on al þat day · both by hynde & als be fore 398*
s]al syng welaway · þat euyr þe balyolues blod was bore 400*
nge kyngles be · trowe þou wele thom*as* as I þ° say
l take fly3t & fle · to bruces lande þe redy way 392
seletes gret & gray · w*ith* hym of hys awn contre
n ryche aray · bothe by lande & eke by see 396

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vij thousand ynglis, grete and smalle,
In a day there shalbe slay.
¶ then shall scotland kyngles be,
Trou þou well, that I the say!
A tarslet shall take his flyght, & fle
To bretons lande the Redy wey;
And take tarslettes grete and gray,
Witħ hym, oute of his lond;
he shall wende in A Ryche Aray,
And come agayne by seye and londe.
¶ He shall stroye the northħ Contre,
More and les hym be-forne;
Ladyes shall say 'waleway!
that euer in scotland war we borñe.'
He shall Ryñ vt at kynges horñe,
And sley lordis on the sonde; [leaf 29]
At deplyng More vppoñ the Morowe,
Lordes shall thynke there long stonde.
¶ By twyx duplyng and the gray stoñ,
the water that Rynnes gray,
there shalbe slayne v thousand englismen,
that nygħt and that day.

And yet they shall take A walled Towñe;
the fader and the sone be slayñ away;
A knygħt shall wyn the warisoun,
with dynt of swerd for ones and ay.

LANSDOWNE

viij thousand englissemen, grete & small,
ther shal be slayn, þat nyght & day.

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[397—400, *see above*]

vp at kyncle horn · fele lordes vp on þe sande
m]ore vp on þe morn · lordes sal thynke ful lang to stand
ge] & a dale · þat water of Erne þat rynnes gray
wi]th myche bale · x thowsand scottes a nyȝt & a day
wallyd toune · standynge ful nere þe water of tay

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Whene þay hafe wonne þat wallede towne,
[1 leaf 152]
And ylke mane hase cheuede þayre chance,
[1]Than saꝧ thir bretoñs make þame bowne,
And fare forthe to þe werre of fraunce.
Than saꝧ scotland kyng-lesse stande,
And be lefte, Thomas, als j the saye;
Than saꝧ a kyng be chosene, so ȝynge,
That kane no lawes lede par faye:
Dauid, with care he saꝧ be-gynne,
And with care he saꝧ wende awaye.
Lordis & ladyse, more and Myne,
Saꝧ come appone a riche araye,
And crowne hym at the towne of skyñe,
Appone an certane solempe daye.
Beryns balde, bothe ȝonge and alde,
Saꝧ tiꝧ hym drawe with-owttyne naye;
Euyne he saꝧ to ynglande ryde,
Este and weste als lygges the waye.

Be-twixe a parke and an abbaye,
A palesse and a paresche kyrke,
Thare saꝧ ȝour kynge faiꝧ of his praye,
And of his lyfe be wondir jrke.
He saꝧ be tane, so wondir sare,
So þat a-waye he saꝧ noghte flee;

THORNTON

when þei haue wonne þe walled towne,
& euery man chosen his chaunce,
þe bretens they shall make þem bowne,
& forthe to þe warres of Fraunce.
þen shall scotland without kinge stand;
beleve, thomas, as I the saye!
thei shall chuse a kinge full yonge,
þat can no lawes leade, parfaye;
& crowned at þe towne of scone,
on a serteine solemne daye. [leaf 8]
birdes bolde, bothe olde & yonge,
shall to him drawe without naye;
into England shall thei ride,
easte, weste, as ligges the waye,
& take a towne with greate pride,
& let þe menn be slaine awaye.
betwixt a parke & an abbaye,
a pales & a parishe kirk,
there shall your kinge faile of his praye,
& of his lyfe be full irk.
he shalbe taggud wunder sare,
so þat awaye he maye not flie;

SLOANE

COTTON

yn a doun · with sore dyntes be kylled a way
n]ge þat is ful ȝynge · he kan no lawes lede parfay
he sal be gyn · with sorowe sal he wende a way
ppes both more & myn · al sal gedir to þer a ray
m]at þ° toun) of scoyne · vp on þe trinyte Sonday
both ȝonge & alde · sall fal to hym with owtyn nay

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¶ Whan they haue take that wallyd towne,
And eu*e*ry man has chosyn his chañs,
the bretons blode shall make hym bone
And fare to the warres of fraunce.
And then shall scottland be wiṫoute kyng,
Trowe the wele that I the sey!
they shall chese a kyng full yonge,
that can not lede no laweys, perfay.
¶ Dauid, w*ith*oute care he shall be gyne,
And w*ith*oute care he shall wend away;
Bysshopp*e*s and lordes, More and myne,
Shall com*e* to hym in Ryche A Raye,
And Crowne hym at A Towne of Scone,
Forsothe vpon A Sett*er*day.
Bornes blode shall wend to Rome,
To get lyve of the pope yf they may.

¶ By twyxte a parke and ane Abbey,
A palys and A perishe church,
there shall that kyng fayll at his pray,
And of his lyfe he shall be full yrke.
He shall be togged, the wonde sore,
that Away he maynot fle;

LANSDOWNE

þen shalle scotland kyngles be sen;
trow þis wel, þ*at* I þe say!
And thei shalle chese a kyng ful ȝong,
þ*at* can no lawes lede, p*ar*fay:
Rob*er*t, w*ith* care he shal be gynne,
And also he shaḫ wynde awey.

lordys and ladys, bothe olde & yongg,
shalle draw to hym w*ith* outyn nay;
And they w*ith* pryde to Englond ryde,
Est and west þ*at* liggys his way;
And take a tou*n*e of mycul pryde,
And sle [. . . . . .] kny*ȝ*t*es* veray.
Betwene a parke & an abbay, [leaf 125, back]
A palys and a p*ar*issh kyrke,
ther shalle þe kyng mys of his way,
[And] of his life be fuḫ yrke.
He shal be teyryd(?) ful wond*ur* sore,
So a way he may not fle;

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

sal he holde · And bryn & sla al in hys way extra
sal he ryde · þar sal he þ*at* ilke day
þ*at* wondes wyde · þ*at* werne ful bolde i*n* hyr aray
ke & an abbay · a paleys & a paryshe kyrke
a]yle of hys pray · & of hys lyfe he sal be yrke
ke i*n* . . . . e ful sare · so þ*at* a way he may not fle

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Hys nebbe sall rynne, or he thethyne fare,
þe rede blode tryklelande vn-to his kn[ee].
He sall þan be, with a false f . . 441
Be-trayede of his awene . . . .
And whe*þer* it torne . . . . .
He sall byde 444
þat rau . . . . . .
Tho . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
[5 *lines lost at foot of page in MS.*]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
In þe northe to do owttraye. [col. 2] 452
And whene he es mane moste of Mayne,
And hopis beste þane for to spede,
On a ley lande sall he be slayne,
Be-syde a waye for-owttyne drede. 456
Sythene sall selle scotland, *par* ma faye,
ffulle and fere, full many ane,
ffor to make a certane paye; 459
Bot ende of it sall neu*er* come nane.
And þane sall scotland kyngles stande;
Trowe this wele, þat j telle the!
Thre *ter*celett*is* of þe same lande 463

THORNTON

his nebbe shall or he thens fare,
of red blud, *trikell* to þe kne. 440
he shall, *with* a false fode,
[*No break in the MS.*]
whither it *turne* to ivell or goode;
& he shall bide in a ravens hand. 444
the ravin shall þe Goshawke wy*nne*,
if his fethers be neu*er* so black;
& leide him strayte to London, 447
þer shall yo*ur* fawcone fynde his make.
þe ravin shall his fethers shake,
& take tarslette*s* gaye & greate,
with him, owte of his awne contre; [Interpol.]
& þe kinge shall him M^r make,
in þe northe to do owtraye. 452
when he is man of moste mayne, [1 s, bk]
& hopes beste for to spede,
on a leye land he shalbe slayne,
beside a waye *with*out drede. 456
then shall they sell in scotland, *par*faye,
fowles & fee full many one,
for to make a *ser*tein paye;
but end *þer* of *com*methe neu*er* none. 460
þen shall scotland kingles stand;
trowe þou well, as I the saye!
iij tarslette*s*, of that same land,

SLOANE

COTTON

l ren *with* myche care · of rede blode doun) to hy[s kne] 440
a fals fode · betrayed of hys awn) lande
rn) to euyl or gode · be sesyd *in* to a rauyn[es hande] 444
. . goshauke wyn · be hyr fethyrs neuyr so [blake]
reght to london *with* hym · *þer* sal ȝo*ur* foule [fynd his make] 448
hyr fethyrs folde · & take þ^e tarsletes [grete & gay]

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[1]His nose shall Rynne, or he thẽse go,
the blode shall trykle downe to his kne.
¶ He shall, throwght a fals fode,
Be betrayde of his owne lond; [1 leaf 29, bk]
Wherere it turne to ewyll or good,
He shall Abide a Rauenes honde.
the Rauyne shall the goshawke woym,
thowght his fedres be neuer so blake;
And lede hym̃ to London Towne,
there shall the goshawke fynd his Make.
¶ þe Rawyn shall his fedres shake,
And take tasletis grete and gay;

the kyng shall hym Maister Make,
In the north̃ for to do outray.
And whan he is most in his mayn̄,
And best wenes for to spede,
On a ley londe he shall be slayn,
By side awey without dred.
¶ And than most scotland, parfay,
By se & land, mony one,
For Dauid make certayn pay;
But end of hym commyth̃ neuer none.
then most scotland kyngles stond;
Trowe the wele, þat I say the!
A taslet of A nother land.

his neb shall rise or he then fare,
the red blode triklond to his knee.

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

hym maystyr bold · In þe north [sal he do owtray] 452
[? 2 *lines lost at top of page.*] [leaf 242, back]
. en of dauy[d 459. —
sall ryde & go hyr wa[y ?
þan sal scotlande kyngles 461. —
thre lordes of þat same londe 463. —

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Saƚƚ stryfe to bygg & browke þe tree.
He saƚƚ bygg & browke the tree,
That hase no flyghte to fley a-waye;
to breten þen shall wend *per* waye. 464
he shall bigge & breake þe tre,
þat hathe no flight to fle away, 466

Thay saƚƚ *with* pryde to y[n]gland ryde,
Este & weste als lygges þe waye. 472
Haly kyrke bese sett be-syde,
Relygyous byrnede on a fyre;
Sythene saƚƚ þay to a castelle gl[yde],
And schewe þame þare *with* . . 476
By-syde a wyƚƚ . . . . . .
A wh[yt . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
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. 483
[10 *lines lost at foot of page in MS.*]
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THORNTON

þai shall, *with* pride, to england fre,
easte & weste as lygges þe waye. 472
holy kirk be sett beside,
& religious men b*ur*ne in fyre;
thei shall to a castell glide,
& shewe þem there *with* mykell ire. 476
betwixt a well & a weare,
a withwell & a slyke stone,
per shall ij cheftens mete in fere,
the on shall doughtles be slayne. 480

the brusse blud shall *with* him fle,
& leade him to a *wor*thi towne;
and close him in a castell lyght, [leaf 9]
theare to be *with* greate renowme. [Interpol.]
Farewell, I wend my waye;
me behoves ou*er* yond*er* bent so browne.'
here endethe þe ij[d] fytt, I saye,
of *sir* thom*as* of Arseldon. 488

SLOANE

COTTON

þat hath no fly3t to fle a way · In to [yng 466 . 471
& bryn & sla day by day · To a towre þan 472 . 475
And hald *per* in myche ire · holychyrche is set 476 . 473
relegious þai bryn hym *in* a fyre 474
bytwys a wethy & a water · a well & a haly stane

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Shall þryue & bygge, & browke þat tre.
¶ He shall bygge, and broke þat tre
He toke his flygħ, & flye A wey;
Robert steward kyng shalbe
of scotland, and Regne mony A day.
[1] A cheuanteyne then shall ryse with pride,
of all scotland shall bere the floure;
he shall into Englonde Ride, [1 leaf 30]
And make men haue full sharpe schoure.
¶ holy chirche to set on syde,
And religyons to bren on fyre;
he shall to the new castell Ryde,
And shew hym there with grete Ire.
By twyx A wey of water,
A well, & A grey stone,
there cheuanteynes shall mete on fere,
And that o dowghty ther shall be slayne.
¶ that other cheuanteyne shall there be tayne,
And proude blode withe hyme shall fle,
And lede hyme tyll A worthe Towne,
And close hym vp in A castell hye.

Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my wey;
Me bus ouer your brutes bromē.'
here is a fote; anoþer to sey,
of Thomas of Assilldone.

LANSDOWNE

be twene A wycked way & A watur,
A parke and A stony way then;
ther shal a cheften mete in fere,
A ful dutey þer shal be slayn.
the todur cheftan shal be tane,
A pesans of blode hyme shal slee;
And lede hym a[w]ay in won,
And cloyse hym in a castell hee.

ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way;
ffor I must ouer ȝond . . bentis brown.'
here ar twoo fyttis; on is to say,
Off Thomas of Erseldown.

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þer sal two chyftans met in fere · þe doglas þer sall be s[l
A tarslet sal in halde be tane · chyftans a way with hym
& lede hym to an hold of stane · & close hym in a castel [h
Whar wele thomas I wend my way · me most ouyr ȝone be
anoþer fyt more is to say · of þe prophecy of arseldoun

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[FYTT THE THIRD.]

[1 leaf 153, back]

1 'Nowe, lufly lady, gente and hende,
Telle me, ȝif it thi willis bee,
Of thyes Batells, how ȝay schall ende,
And whate schalle worthe of this northe countre?'

'This worlde, Thomas, sothely to telle,
Es noghte bot wandrethe & woghe!
Of a batelle j will the telle,
That schall be donne at spynkarde cloughe:
The bretons blode schalle vndir falle,
The bruyse blode schalle wyne ȝe spraye;
Sex thowsande ynglysche, grete & smalle,
Salle thare be slayne ȝat nyghte & daye.
The rerewarde sall noghte weite, parfaye,
Of that jlke dulfulle dede;
Thay sall make a grete journaye,
Dayes tene with-owttyne drede.
And of a batelle j will ȝe telle,
That sall be donne now sone at will:
Beryns sall mete, bothe ferse & felle,
And freschely fyghte at pentland hyll.
By-twyx Sembery & pentlande,
ȝe haulle ȝat standis appone ȝe rede claye—

THORNTON

[FYTTE THE THIRD.]

'thies wordes, thomas, ȝat I saye,
is but wanderyng & woughe;
of a battell I shall the tell,
that shalbe done at Spenkard slough:
the bretens blud shall vnder fall,
the brusse blud shall wynne ȝe praye;
vij thowsand englishe, greate & small,
shalbe slayne ȝat ilk daye.
the reareward shall not witt, parfaye,
of ȝat same dolfull dede;
thei shall make a greate iornaye,
dayes x without drede.
of a battell I will you tell,
that shalbe done sonne at will:
barons shall mete, bothe fyers & fell,
& fyersly fight at Eldon hill.
betwin Edynburgh & Pentland,
at ȝe hall ȝat standethe on ȝe redd claye,

SLOANE

COTTON

[FYT THE THIRD]

Far wel thomas I wende my way · me most ouyr ȝone bro . .
sothly .t. I ȝe say · men sal haf rome ryȝt ny ȝaire dor
Sothly .t. as I ȝe say · ȝis world sal stond on a wondir w
of a batel tel I ȝe may · ȝat sal be don at spynkar cl
ȝe gret wreth sal not persayuyd be · of ȝat gret vnk . .

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[FOTE THE THIRD.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;
I may no longer duell *with* the.'
yet, louely lady, goode and gey,

Abyde, & tell me more ferele!' 492

'And þus, thomas, truly to tell,
hyt Is wondrand & wow;
but of a batyll I shall the tell,
that shall be don at spincar clow: 496
¶ the bretonys blode there shall vnder-
the Ebrues ther shall wyn the pray; [fall,
v thousand yngleff̃ there, gret & small,
In a sunday mornyng shall be slay. 500
the fowarde shall not wit, *par*fey,
Certeyn of that dolfull dede;
they shall make agayne a grete Iorney,
Dayes x *with*outen drede. 504

[¹ leaf 30, back] [lond
¹¶ Bytwix Eden brought and the Pent-
the hall that stond on the Rede glay—

[FYTTE THE THIRD.]

'Thomas, truly I þe say,
þe worlde is wond*ur* wankill!
Off þe next batell I wyll the say,
that shal be done at spynard [?] hill: 496
the bruc*is* blode shall vnd*ur* fall,
the brettens blode schall wyn [the spray;]
xiij thousand þ*er* shal be slayne, [leaf 126]
Off scottisshe men þ*at* nyght & day. 500

Off the next batell I wil þe telle,
þ*at* shal be done sone at will:
Barons bothe flesshe & fell
shalle fresshely fyȝt at pentland hyll. 508
but when pentland & edynborow,
And þe hill þ*at* stand*is* on þe red cley,

LANSDOWNE CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

v. thowsande slayn sal be · of scott*es* men *with* outyn 500
Fare wele .t. I wend my way · I may no lang*er* stand
louely lady gentyl & gay · a byde & tel me more f 504
Of a batel I can þe tell · þ*at* sal be done hastely at
bernes sal met both fryk & fel · & freshely fyȝt at 508
by twys edynburgh & pentlande · an hyl þ*er* stand

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There schall be slayne Eleuene thowsande
[Of scot]tis mene, þat nyghte & daye.
. . . . . a townne, of grete renowne,
. . . . . e water of Taye
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
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. . . . . .
. . . . . .
The toþer oste at barboke. [col. 2]
fforryours furthe sall flee,
On a Sonondaye, by-fore þe messee;
Seuene thowsandes sothely sall be slayne,
One aythir partye, more and lesse.
ffor þer sall be no baneres presse,
Bot ferre in sondir sall thay bee;
Carefull sall be þe after mese,

THORNTON

there shalbe slayne xij thowsand,
forsothe, of scottes, þat night & daye.
thei shall take a walled towne, [1 leaf 9, bk]
[1]the father & þe sonne bene slayne awaye;
knightes shall wynne þer warysone,
thurghe dynt of swerd for euer & aye.
when þei haue wonne the wallid towne,
and euery mann chosen his chaunce,
the bretens þen shall make them bowne,
and forthe to þe warres of Fraunce.
thei shalbe in fraunce full
thomas, I saye, iij yeares & mare;
and dynge downe towerȝ, & castelles
to euery mann in sonder fare. [stronge,
then shall thei be bought full stronge,
betwixt Seiton & þe seye;
the bretens shalbe þe greaves amonge,
the other este at Barwik fre.

[*No break in the MS.*]

on a Sondaye before þe masse,
v thowsand sothely slayne shalbe,
of brusse blud, bothe moare & les.
for þat daye shuld no banerȝ presse,
but farr in sonder shall thei be;
carefull shalbe the enter messe,

SLOANE

COTTON

þer sal be slayn twelf þowsande · of Scottes [m
þan sal þai take a wallyd toun) · fadir & [s
knyȝtes of yngland wyn þair warysoun) · th
whan þai haf tak þis wallyd toun) · & ich man hath
hym to hys chance · þan sal þe bretons make
& fare in to þe werres of fraunce

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there shall be slayne vij m[1]
of scottes men, that nyght & day.
And þet they shall take A walled Towne
that stonde on the water of Tay;
knyghtes shall wyne the waryson,
By dyntes of swerde for ones & Aye.
¶ And whan they haue toke þat walled towne,
And eche man hathe take his chaunce,
the britons blode shall make hym boune,
And fare agan) to werres of fraunce.
then shall they be in fraunce full longe;
Thomas, iij yere & more;
And dyng downe castellis & towres [stronge,
And then shall euery mañ home fare.
¶ they shall mete, boþe fers & stronge,
By twyx Cetoñ and the see;
the englyshe shall ly in craggis amonge,
That othere oste at barkle.
A sore semble there shall be,
On a sonday by fore the Masse;
v thousand shalne[1] shall be, [1 ? slayne]
of bothe partes more & lesse.
¶ For there shall no baner presse,
Bot fer in sundre shall they be;
Carefull shall be there last Masse,

LANSDOWNE

vij thousande shal be slayn þere,
Off scottisshe men þat nyght & day.
then shalle they met, bathe stiff & strong,
Betwene seton and þe see;
the englisshe shalle lyg þe cragys among,
the toþur at þe est banke faƚleþ hye.
the florence forth shall fare,
Vpon a sonday before the masse;
v thousande þer shalbe slayne,
off bothe partyes more and lesse.
ffor þat þer shaƚƚ no barrons presse,
but fer asondur shalle they be;
Carfuƚƚ shalbe þe furst masse,

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þaj sal be in fraunce ful lang · sothly .t. thre ȝer
& bet doun) tounes & castels strange · to do owtr
þan sal þai mete both styf & strang · by twys Seton
þe Inglyshe sal lyg þe cragges amang · þe frenshe
[freres] fast a way sal fle · On a sonday be for þe
. thowsande slayn sal be · of bernes both m
[þer] sal no man wyn þe prise · sertenly þis I tell þ

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By-twixe Cetone and þe See.

Schippis saH stande appone þe Sande,
Wayffande *with* þe Sees fame;
Thre ȝere and mare, þan saH þay stande,
Or any beryne come foche þame hame.
Stedis awaye Mayster*l*es saH flynge,
Ouer þe Mountans too and fraa;
Thaire sadiHs one þaire bakkis saH hynge,
Vn-to þe garthis be rotyne in twaa.
ȝitt saH þay hewe one aHe þe daye,
Vn-to þe sonne be sett nere weste;
Bot þer es no wighte þat ȝitt wiete maye,
Wheþer of thayme saH hafe þe beste.
Thay saH plante downe þaire thare,

Worthi mene al nyghte saH dye;
Bot One þe Morne þer saH be care,
ffor nowþer syde saH hafe þe gree.
Than saH þay take a trewe, and swere,
ffor thre ȝere & more, j vndirstande,
þat nane of þame saH oþer dere,
[Nowþer] by See ne ȝitt by lande.
. . . . saynte Marye dayes
. . . . . d]ayes lange
. . . . . Baners rayse
. . . . . e lande

THORNTON

betwin seytone & þe seye,
of þe brusse, bothe moare & les. [Interpolation]
shippȝ shall stand vpon the sande,
wavand *with* þe seye fome,
thre yeares & moare, vnderstand, [leaf 10]
or any barons fetche them home
steades m*aister*les shall flynge,
to the mountains to & fro;
þer sadelȝ on þer backes hynge,
till þer girthes be rotten in to.
thei shall hewe on helme & sheld,
to þe sonne be sett neare weste;
no mann shall witt, in þat fyeld,
whithether p*ar*tie shall haue þe beste.
thei shall caste downe bannerȝ there;

wonden many one þat night shall dye;
vpon the morne there shalbe care,
for neither p*ar*tie shall haue þe degre.
thei shall take a trewce, & sware,
iij yeares & moare, I vnderstand,
þat none of them shall other dare,
neither by water ne by land.
betwin ij Saint mary dayes,
when þe tyme waxethe longe,
then shall thei mete, & bannerȝ raise,
on claydon moore, bothe styf & stronge.

SLOANE

COTTON

[. . . . . .] sal þt ost be aftyr mes · by twys seton &
[Shi]ppes sal be on þe strande · wallyng *with* þe s
T[hr]e ȝer & more *per* sal þai stande · no man . . . . . to f
[Sted]es mayster*l*es a way sall flynge · to þe mountt . . . .
[Sadels on] hyr bakkes sall hynge · to þe gyrthes be

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Bytwyx ceton & the see. 536

Shippes shall stonde ther on þe sonde,
hem selfe mene the the fome;
Seue yere & more theyr shall they stonde
And no barne shall bryng hem home. 540
[1]¶ And stedes shall maisterles fleng
To the Montayns them fro; [1 leaf 81]
the sadles shall on ther bakes hyng,
Thyll þe gerthes be rotten them fro. 544
they shall hewe on, all that day,
Tyll the sonne be sett west;
ther is no man, that wete may,
which of them shall haue the best. 548

LANSDOWNE

be twene seton & the see. 536

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. . . . . .

þen shalle þei [feȝt] with helmys & shylde there, [awey;
And woundyt men al eneglych shal rone
but on þe morne þer schal be care,
ffor nedyr [side] shall haue þe gree. 552
[2]Then shalle þei take a truce & swere,
thre ȝere and more, I vndurstonde;
þer nouþer side shalle odir dere, [2 leaf 126, back]
Nouþer be se nor be londe. 556
betwene twoo seynt mary dayes,
When þe tyme waxis nere long,
then shalle thei mete, and banerse rese,
In gleydes more, þat is so long. 560

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[þai sal plantt] doun hir baners þar · & wondid men s
[þis is þe] begynnyng [of þer] care · whan nouþer party sa 548
[þen sal þai] take a trew & swere · thre ȝer & more 554
[þat none of] þem sal [oþer dere · nouþer] by se
[. . . . . .] saynt mary dayes · [when] þe da 558
[. . . . . .] 560

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. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1]Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he sall fynd nan[e]. [1 leaf 153]

He sall lyghte, whare þe crose solde bee,
And holde his nebbe vp to the skye;
And drynke of gentill blode and free;
þane ladys, waylowaye, sall crye.
Ther sall a lorde come to þat werre,
þat sall be of full grete renown[ne];
And in his Banere sall he bere,
Triste it wele, a rede lyone.
Thar sall anoþer come to þat werr[e],
þat sall fyghte full fayre in [ ]
And in his banere sall he ber[e]
A Schippe with an ankyre of golde.
3itt sall an oþer come to þat werre,
þat es noghte knawene by northe n[e southe];
And in his Banere sall he bere
A wolfe with a nakede childe in his mo[uthe].
3itt sall þe ferthe lorde come to þat w[erre],
þat sall grete Maystries after ma[ke];
And in his B[anere sa]ll he b[er]e
The bere . . . . . .

THORNTON

iij crowned kinges, with dyntes sore,
shalbe slayne, & vnder be.
a Raven shall comme ouer þe moore;
and after him a crowe shalle flee,
to seke þe moore, without reste,
after a crosse is made of stone, [leaf 10, back]
ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste;
but trowe þou well, he shall fynde none.

he shall lyght wheare þe crosse shuld be,
& holde his nebbe into þe skye;
& drynk of ientle blud & fre,
of doughti knightes þat downe shall lye.

SLOANE

[*Lines* 577-604 *not in this MS.*]

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Gladysmore, þat gladis vs aꝯ,
This is begynyng of oure gle;
gret sorow þen shaꝯ fall,
Wher rest and pees were wont to be.
Crowned kyngus þer shal be slayn,
With dyntis sore, and wondur se;
Out of a more a rauen shaꝯ cum;
And of hym a schrew shall flye,
And seke þe more, with owten rest,
Aftur a crosse is made of ston;
Hye and low, boþ est and west,
But vp he shaꝯ [fynde] non.

He shalle liȝt þer the crosse shuld be,
And holde his neb vp to þe skye;
And he shaꝯ drynk of [ ],
Ladys shalle cry welawey!

LANSDOWNE CAMBRIDGE

[*Lines* 577-604 *in no MS. but the Thornton.*]

COTTON

[5 *lines lost at top of page.*] [leaf 243]

[fynd no] 572
neb vp to þe sky 574
[w]elaway sal cry 576

[*Lines* 577-604 *not in this MS.*]

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THORNTON

And þa . . . . . .
Wh . . . . . .
Bot . . . . . .
þer 596
An . . . . . .
Th . . . . . .
þe . . . . . .
An 600
Be . . . . . .
Wh . . . . . .
Th . . . . . .
The 604
þa . . . . . .
V 606
. . . . . .
[4 *lines entirely lost at bottom of column.*]
. . . . . .
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[col. 2] . . . . . .
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[*Col.* 2 *entirely torn off.*]

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. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

SLOANE

frely þei shall fight þat daye, 605
to þat þe sonne be sett neare weste;
none of them shall witt, I saye,
whither partie shall haue þe beste. 608
a basted shall comme owte of a fforreste,
in sothe england borne shalbe—
he shall wynne þe gre for þe beste,
& all þe land after bretens shalbe. 612
then he shall into England ryde,
easte weste, as we heare sayne. 614

all false lawes he shall laye downe,
þat ar begonne in þat contre;
trewthe to do, he shalbe bone,
& all þe land, after, bretens shalbe. 620

COTTON

sunn]e syt euyn weste
w]yt may · whethir party sal hafe þe best 608
of þe forest · In south yngland born sal be
f]or best · And al ledes bretayns sal be 612

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¶ A basterd shall come out of the west,
And there he shall wyne the gre;
he shall bothe Est and west,
And all the lond breton shall be.
he shall In to Englond Ryde,
Est and west in hys tyme;
And holde A *par*lament of moche pryde,
that neu*er* no p*ar*lament by fore was seyne.
And fals lawes he shall ley doune,
that ar goyng in that countre;
And treu work*es* he shall begyn,
And bothe lond*es* bretton shalbe.

LANSDOWNE

Þen shal they fi3t w*ith* he[lme &] schilde,
Vnto þe sun be set nere west; [leaf 127]
þer is no wy3t in *þat* fylde,
þat wott*is* qwylke side shall haue þe best.
A bastarde shal cu*m* fro a forest,—
Not in ynglond borne shall he be;—
And he shalle wyn þe gre for þe best,
Alle men leder of bretan shal he be.
And *with* pride to ynglond ride,
Est and west as .... layde
And holde a parlement w[.....]
Where neu*er* non before was sayd
Alle false lawes he [shalle laye doune],
þat ar begune *in* *þat* cuntre;
Truly to wyrke, he shal be boun*e*;
And alle leder of bretans shal he be.

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

s]al he ryde · est & west *with* myche tene
ment *with* myche pryde · þ^{t} neuyr non sych be for was sene
es he sal dyng down) · *þat* wer begun in hys cuntre
o wirke he sal be bown · trewly thom*as* as I tell þe

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[*Leaf* 153, *col.* 2, *and* 153, *back, col.* 1, *torn out of MS.*]

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THORNTON

thomas ! trowe þat I the tell,
that it be so, euer*i*che worde.
of a battell I shall the spell,
that shalbe done at sandyford : 624
ney þe forde *þer* is a braye,
and ney þe braye *þer* is a well ; [leaf 11]
a stone *þer* is, a lytell fraye,
& so *þer* is, þe sothe to tell. 628
thowe may trowe this, eu*er*y wurde— 632
growand *þer* be okes iij ; 629
that is called the sandyford, 630
þer the laste battell done shalbe. 631
Remn*er*des & Clyffor*d*es bolde shalbe, 633
in Bruse land iij yeares & mare, 634
& dynge downe tower*z* & castell*z* high ;
to do owtraye thei shall not spare. 636
þe basted shall gett him pow*er* stronge,
all þe fyue leishe lande— 639
there shall not on him bodword brynge, 640
as I am for to vnderstand.
þe basted shall die in þe holly lande ; 641
Ihesu *Criste* ! þat mykell maye, 644
his sowle þou take into þi hande, 643
when he is deade & layed in claye !' [Interpolation]
& as she tolde, at the laste, 645
þe teares fell ouer hir eyen graye.

SLOANE

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And thus is that I you tell;
belefe it wele euery word!
And of A baytale I wote full wele,
that shalbe done at Sawdyngford.
By that forde there is a bro,
And by that bro ther is A well:
A stone there is a lityll there fro;
And by the stone sothe to tell,
And at þat stone Ar cragges iij,

[*The MS. here ends abruptly though there is more room on the page.*]

þe bastarde shal get hym power strong,
And alle his foes he shall doune dyng;
Off alle þe v kyng*us* land*is*,
þer shal non bad[word] home bryng.
þe bastard shal dye *in* þe holy land;—
Trow *þis* wel [I] þe sey;—
Take his sowle to his hond,
Ihesu criste, [that] mycull may!
Thom*as*, [truly] I þe say,
þis is [trewth] ylke a worde!
Off *þat* laste battel I þe say,
[1]It [shall] be done at Sandeford:
Nere sendyforth *þer* is a wroo, [1 lf 127, bk]
And nere *þat* wro is a well;
A [ston] *þer* is þe wel euen fro;
And nere þe wel, truly to tell,
On *þat* grounde *þer* groeth okys thre,
And is called sondyford;
þer þe last battel done shal be,
Thom*as*, trow þou ilke a worde.'
þen she seid *with* heuy chere;
þe terys ran out of hir een gray.

LANSDOWNE CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

owe þis ful wele · *þat* þis is soth euery worde
[Of a bate]l I can þe telle · *þat* sal be done at Sandyforde
[Nere þe] forde þar is a bro · & nere þe bro *þer* is a well
standes þe welle euyn fro · & nere it a ston sothely to tell
[& nere] *þat* ston growith okes thre · *þat* men call sandyforde
[þar þe la]st batel don sal be · thom*as* trowe þou wele þis eu*er*y worde
e]s & clyffordes *in* werre sal be · In bruces lande thre ȝere & more
n) tones & castels fre · to do owtray þai sal not spare
e] *þat* I þe say · þe bastard sal de in þe holy lande
þou wele may · sese hys sawle into þi hande
d *with* mych care · þe teres ran doun) of hyr eyn grey

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. . . . . 'Lady, or you wepe so faste,
. . . . . take yo*ur* leave & goo yo*ur* waye!' 648
. . . . . 'I wepe not for my waye wyndinge,
[leaf 153, back, col. 1] . . . . . but for ladyes, faire & fre,
. . . . . whe*n* lordes bene deade, wi*th*out leasynge,
. . . . . shall wedd yome*n* of poore degre. 652
. . . . . [1]he shall have steades in stabull fedd;
. . . . . a hawke to bare vpo*n* his hand;
. . . . . a lovly lady to his bedd; [1 leaf 11, back]

[*Leaf* 153, *back, col.* 1, *torn out of Thornton MS.*]

his elders before him had no land! 656
farewell, thom*as*, well the be!
for all this daye thowe wilt me marr.
. . . . . 'nowe, lovly lady, tell thowe me,
. . . . . of blak annes of Dvnbarr.' 660

. . . . . 'of blak annes co*mm*e neue*r* gode,
. . . . . therfor, maye she neue*r* the:
. . . . . for all hir welthe, & worldes gode,
. . . . . in london shall she slayne be. 668
. . . . . the greateste me*r*cha*u*nte of hir blud,
. . . . . in a dike shall he dye;
. . . . . houndes of him shall take þe*r* fode,
. . . . . mawger all þe*r* kynne & he.' 672

THORNTON SLOANE

COTTON

þou wepe so sare · take þi houndes & wende þi wey 648
my way wendyng · sothly thom*as* as I þe say
e]s sal wed ladyes wi*th* ryng · Whan hyr lordes be slain [away 652
des in stabil fed · a fayr goshauk to hys hande
to hys bed · hys kyn be fore had neuyr lande 656
m]as & wele þe be · al þis day þou wil me mare
· of blake aunes of Dunbare 660

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'lady, or þou wepe so sore,
Take þi houndis & wend þi way!'
'I wepe not for my way walkyng,
Thomas, truly I þe say;
But fer ladys, shall wed laddys ȝong,
When *þer* lordis ar ded away.
He shall haue a stede in stabul fed,
A hauk to beyre vpon his hond;
A bright lady to his [bed],
þat be fore had none [londe].
ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way;
Alle *þis* day þou wil me [mar]!'
'Lufly lady, tel þou me,
Off blake Agnes of Don[bar];
[1]And why she haue gyven me þe warre,
And put me in hir prison depe; [1 leaf 128]
ffor I wolde dwel *with* hir,
And kepe hir ploos and hir she[pe].'
'Off blak Agnes cu*m* neu*er* gode:
Wher for, thom*as*, she may not the;
ffor al h*ir* welth and h*ir* wordly gode,
In london cloysed shal she be.
þer pr*e*uisse neu*er* gode of hir blode;
In a dyke þen shall she dye;
Houndis of hir shall haue þer fode,
Magrat of all hir kyng of le.'

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þe war & put me depe *in* hyr pr*is*oune
with hyr · sothely lady at arsyldoun
e] neuyr gode · thom*as* sche may do not to þe
& wordely gode · In london sal she closyd be
xt of hyr blode · In a foule dyke sal sche dye
r sal hafe her fode · mawgre of al hyr kyn & she

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. . . . . thomas, drere mann was he,
. . . . . teares fell ouer his eyen so graye.
. . . . . 'nowe, lovly lady, tell þou me,
. . . . . if we shall parte for euer & aye?' 676
. . . . . [leaf 158, back, col. 2] 'naye!' she saide, 'thomas, parde,
To huntlee bankkis þou take the way[e]; when thowe sitteste in Arseldon,
[T]here shall j sekirly be bowne, 679 to hontley bankis þou take þe waye;
[And] mete the Thomas whene j maye. þer shall I sykerly to the recomme. 680
[*lines* 681-4 *found only in Cotton MS.*]
[I sa]ll *the* kenne whare euer *thou* gaa, I shall reken, wheare euer I goo, 685
[To ber]e þe pryce of curtaysye; 686 to beare the price of curtese.' 686
[For tu]nge es wele, & tunge es waa,
[And tun]ge es chefe of Mynstrallsye.'
[*lines* 689-692 *found only in Cotton MS.*]
[Scho ble]we hir horne on hir palfraye,
[And left]e Thomas vndir-nethe a tre;
[To Helmesd]ale scho tuke the waye;
[And thus] departede scho and hee! and thus departid she & he! 696
[Of swilke] an hird mane wolde j here, Finis.
[þat couth] Me telle of swilke ferly. 698
[Ihesu], corounde with a crowne of brere,
[Bry]nge vs to his heuene So hyee!
amene, amene. 700

Explicit Thomas
Of Erseledownne

THORNTON SLOANE

COTTON

a drery man was he · þe teres ran of his eyn grey
y tel þou me · if we sal part for onys & ay 676
at arseldoun · to huntly bankes tak þi way
edy boun · to mete þe þar if þat I may 680
ende my way · I may no langer stande with þe
þe pray · tel neuyr þi frendes at home of me 684
y a lady fre · I sal þe comfort wher þat þou go

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Þen Thomas, a sory man was he,
Þe terys ran out of his een gray;
'lufly lady, ȝet [tell þou] me,
If we shall parte for euer and ay?' 676
'Nay! when þou sitt[es] at erseldown,
To hunteley [bankes] þou take thi way;
And þer shal I be redy bowne,
To mete þe thomas, if þat I may.' 680

She blew [hir] horne, on hir palfray,
And lef[fed] thomas at eldryn tre;
Til helmesdale she toke þe way; [f 123, bk]
thus departed þat lady and he! 696
Off such a woman wold I here,
That couth telle me of such ferly!
Ihesu, crowned with thorne so clere,
Bryng vs to thi hall on hye! 700
Explicit

LANSDOWNE CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

profe of curtasy · tong is weke & tong is wo 688
e of mynstralsy · tong is water & tong is wyne
[Tong is che]fe of melody · & tong is thyng þat fast wil bynd 692
[þen went] forth þat lady gay · vpon hyr wayes for to w[ende]
[She blewe hi]r horn on hyr palfray · & lefte thomas vndir a [tre] 696
man wold I here · þat couth tel more of þis ferly
kyng so clere · bryng vs to þi halle [on hye] 700
[Explicit prop]hecia thome de Arseldoune

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APPENDIX I.

From "The Whole prophesie of Scotland," &c. Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603. Collated with Andro Hart's Edition, 1615.

☞ The Prophecie of Thomas Lymour. [B j, back]

Still on my waies as I went,
Out throgh a land, beside a [1]lie,
I met a [2]beirne vpon the [3]way.
Me thought him seemlie for to see,
I asked him [4]holly his intent,
Good Sir, if your [5]wil be,
Sen that ye byde vpon the bent
Some vncouth tydinges tell you me,
When shal al these warres be gone,
That leile men may [6]leue in lee,
Or when shall falshood goe from home
and laughtie blow his horne on hie.
I looked from me not a mile,
And saw two Knights vpon a [7]lie,
they were armed seemely new,
two Croces on [8]there brestes they bare,
and they were [9]cled in diuers hew,
Of sindrie countries as they were,
the one was red as any blood,
Set in his Shield a [10]Dragone keene,
He [11]steird his Steed as he were [12]mad,
With crabbid words sharpe and keene
Right to the other beirne him by.
His Horse was al of siluer sheene
His Shield was shaped right seemlie,
In it a Ramping Lyon keene.
Seemly into golde was set,
His bordour was of Asure sheene,
With silke and Sabil well was plet, [B ij]
I looked from me ouer a greene,
And saw a Ladie on a lie,
That such a one had I neuer seene.
the light of her shined so hie,
Attour the moore where [13]at she fure,
The fields me thought faire and greene
She rode vpon a Steid ful sture,
That such a one had I seldome seene:
Her Steid was white as any milke,
His top his taile [14]war both full blae
A side [15]saydle sewed with silke,
As al were golde it glittered so,
His harnessing was of silke of ynde,
Set with precious stones free,
He ambled on a noble kinde:
Vpon her head stoode Crownes three:
Her garment was of Gowles gay,
But other colour saw I none,
A flying fowle then I saw,
Light beside her on a stone
A stoope into her hand she baere,
and holy water she had readie,
She sprinkled the field both here & there
Said heere shal many dead corpes lie.
At yon bridge vpon yon burne,
Where the water runnes bright and sheene,
There shal many steides spurne,

[1] Ley [2] bairne [3] bent [4] wholly [5] wils [6] liue [7] Ley [8] their
[9] clad [10] Dragon sheene [11] stirde [12] wood [13] as [14] wer [15] saddle

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And Knightes die throw battles keene
[1] To the two Knightes did she say,
Let be your strife my Knightes free,
Ye take your Horse and ride your way
As God hath ordained so must it be, [B ij, back]
Saint Andrew thou hast the [2] hight,
Saint George thou art my owne Knight,
they [3] wrongous aires shall worke thee woe,
Now are they one there [4] waies gone,
The Ladie and the Knightes two,
to that beirne then can I ment,
and asked [5] tythings be my fey,
What kinde of sight was that I said?
[6] Thou shewed to me upon yone lie,
Or wherefrom came those Knights two
They seemed of a farre countrie,
That Ladie that I let thee see,
that is the Queene of heauen so bright
the fowle that flew by her knee,
that is Saint Michael much of might
the knightes two the field to ta
Where manie men in field shall fight.
know you well it shal be so,
that die shal manie a gentle knight.
With death shall manie doughtie daile,
the Lordes shal be then away,
there is no Harret that can tell,
who shal win the field that day,
A crowned King in armes three
Vnder the Baner shal be set,
two false and feyned shal be,
the third shal light and make great let
Baners fiue againe shal striue,
and come in on the other side,
the white Lyon shall beate them downe,
and worke them woe with woundes wide,
The [7] Bares heade with the [8] read Lyon, [B iij]
So seemely into [9] read golde set,
That day shal slay the King with Crowne,
Though many Lordes make great let,
there shal attour the water of Forth
Set in golde the read Lyon.
And many Lords out of the North
to that battell shal make them boun,
there shal Crescentes come ful keene,
that weares the Croce as read as blood.
On euerie side shal be sorrow seene,
Defouled is many doughtie foode,
Beside a Lough, vpon a lie,
they shal assemble vpon a day,
And many doughtie men shal die
Few in quiet shal be found away,
Our Scottish King shal come full keene,
The read Lyon beareth he,
A feddered arrow sharpe I weene
Shal make him winke and warre to see,
Out of the [10] filde he shal be led
When he is bloodie and woe for blood,
Yet to his men shall he say
For Gods loue [11] you turne againe
and giue [12] those Sutherne folke a [13] fray,
Why should I lose, the right is mine.
My date is not to die this day.
Yonder is [14] falshoode fled away,
and [15] laughtie blowes his horne on hie,
Our bloodie King that weares the Crowne,
Ful boldlie shal [16] he battell byde,
His Baner shal be beaten downe,
And hath no hole his head to hide, [B iij, back]
the Sternes three that day shall die,
That beares the [17] Harte in siluer sheene:
there is no riches golde nor fee,
May lengthen his life [18] an howre I weene,
Thus through the field [19] that Knight shal ride
And twise reskew the King with Crowne,
He will make many a Banner yeeld,
the Knight that beares the toddes three,
He wil by force the field to ta,
But when he sees the Lyon [20] die,
Thinke ye wel he wil be wae,
Beside him lightes beirnes three,
Two is white the third is blae,

[1] Knights then did they sey [2] right [3] wrangous heires [4] wayes [5] tydings by
[6] Then [7] Beares [8] red [9] red gold [10] field [11] turne you [12] these
[13] frey [14] falset [15] loudlie [16] the battell bide [17] heart [18] one houre
[19] the [20] dee

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the toddes three, shall slay the two,
The third of them shall make him die,
Out of the field shall goe no more,
But one Knight and knaues three.
There comes a Banner red as [1]blud,
In a Ship of siluer sheene,
With him comes many [2]ferlie fude,
to worke the Scottes much hurte and woe,
There comes a Ghost out of the west,
Is of another language then he,
to the battle bownes him best,
As soone as he the Senyour can see,
the Ratches workes them great wanrest,
Where they are rayed on a lie,
I cannot tell who hath the best
Each of them makes other die
A white Swane set into blae,
Shal semble from the South sey,
To worke the [3]Northen folk great wae, [B 4.]
For knowe you well thus shal it be,
the staikes [4]aucht with siluer set,
Shal semble from the other side,
till he and the Swan be met,
They shal worke woe with woundes wide,
throw woundes wide, there weeds hath wet
So boldlie will [5]there beirnes byde,
It is no [6]rek who gets the best,
they shal both die in that same tide.
There comes a Lord out of the North,
Riding vpon a Horse of tree,
that broad landes hath beyond Forth,
The white Hinde beareth he,
And two Ratches that are blew,
Set [7]into golde that is so free,
that day the [8]Egill shal him slay,
and then put up his Banner hie:
The Lord that beares [9]the Losanes three,
Set into gold with Gowles two,
Before him shal a battel be,
He weares a banner that is blew,
Set with Pecok talles three:
and lustie Ladies heads two,
[10]Vnfane of one, each other shal be,
all through griefe to gether they goe
I cannot tel who wins the gree,
Each of them shal other slay,
the [11]Egill gray set into greene,
that weares the [12]hartes heades three,
Out of the South he shal be seene,
to light and ray him on a lie,
With [13]55. Knights that are keene, [B 4, back]
And Earles either two or three,
From [14]Carlel shal come [15]bedene,
Againe shal they it neuer see,
at Pinkin Cleuch [16]their shal be spilt,
Much gentle blood that day,
[17]Their shal the [18]Baire lose the [19]gylt,
And the Eagle beare it away,
Before the water [20]man calles Tyne,
And there ouer [21]lyes a brig of stone,
the [22]Baires three, looses the gree,
there shall the Eagle win his name.
There comes a beast out of the west
With him shal come a faire manie,
His Baner [23]hes beene seldome seene,
A bastard trowe I best he be,
Gotten [24]with a Ladie sheene,
[25]With a Knight in priuitie
His armes are full eath to knowe,
the [26]read Lyon [27]bears he,
that Lyon shall forsaken be,
and [28]he right glad to [29]flee away
Into an Orchyard on a lie,
With hearbs greene and allayes gray,
there will he inlaiked be,
His men sayes harmesay,
the Eagle puts his Baner on hie
and sayes the field he woone that day,
their shal the Lyon lye full still,
Into a vallie faire and bright,

[1] blood [2] ferly food [3] Northerne [4] eight [5] their bairnes bide [6] reck [7] in golde [8] Egle [9] *omits* the [10] Unfaine [11] Egle [12] hearts heads [13] fiftie fiue [14] Carlill [15] bedeene [16] There shall [17] There [18] Beare [19] guilt [20] men cals [21] lies [22] Beares [23] hath bene [24] betweene [25] And [26] red [27] beareth [28] be [29] be

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A Ladie shoutes with words shrile,
and sayes woe worth [1]the coward knight
Thy men are slaine vpon yon hil, [B 5]
To dead are many [2]dougtie dight,
Theareat the Lyon likes ill,
And raises his baner hie on hight
Vpon the moore that is so gray,
Beside a headles Croce of stone,
There shal the Eagle die that day,
And the read Lyon win the name
The Eagles three shal lose the gree,
that they haue had this manie day,
the read Lyon shal win renowne,
Win all the field and beare away,
One [3]Crowe shal come, another shal goe,
and drink the gentle blood so free.
When all these ferlies was away
then sawe I non, but I and he
then to the [4]birne couth I say
Where dwels thou or in what countrie :
Or who shal rule the Ile of Bretaine
From the North to the South sey :
a French [5]wife shal beare the Son,
Shall rule all Bretaine to the sey,
that of the Bruces blood shall come,
As neere as the nint degree
I franed fast what was his name,
Where that he came from what countrie ?
In Erslingtoun, I dwell at hame
Thomas Rymour men calles me.

[1] thee [2] doughtie [3] Crowne [4] Bairne could [5] Queene [6] which

---

[My idea at first was to print the above in 4-line stanzas, thus :

Still on my waies as I went,
Out throgh a land, beside a lie,
I met a beirne vpon the way ;
Me thought him seemlie for to see.

But, though this is clearly the original structure, it breaks down in twelve places, in the copy as we have it (a clear proof of its imperfections), and in others is so uncertain, that I finally resolved to let it alone, and give it in the form in which I found it. An examination will show :—

Three regular stanzas		1—12	:	*two* lines (half stanza)	12—14 ;
two	„ „	15—22	:	*three* uncertain lines	23—25 ;
nine	„ „	26—61	:	*three* lines of a stanza	62—64 ;
twelve	„ „	65—112	:	*nine* uncertain lines	113—121 ;
two	„ „	122—129	:	*three* odd lines	130—132 ;
one	„ „	133—136	:	*two* lines (half stanza)	137—138 ;
ten	„ „	139—178	:	*two* lines (half stanza)	179—180 ;
four	„ „	181—196	:	*six* uncertain lines	197—202 ;
one	„ „	203—206	:	*two* lines (half stanza)	207—208 ;
six	„ „	209—232	:	*two* lines (half stanza)	233—234 ;
one	„ „	235—238	:	*two* lines	239—240 ;
one doubtful	„	241—244	:		
one regular	„	245—248.]			

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APPENDIX II.

"THE PROPHISIES OF RYMOUR, BEID, AND MARLYNG:"

AN ENGLISH PROPHECY.

[*Lansdowne MS.* 762, *leaf* 75, *collated with Rawl. MS. C.* 813, *leaf* 72, *back.*]

WELL on my way as I forth wente
ouer a londe beside a lee,
I met *with*[1] a baron[2] vpon a bente,
Me thought hym semely for to see.
I prayed hym *with* good entente
To abide awhile and speke *with* me:
Som vncowth tidynges [in] verament
[3]That he wolde tell me ij or iij.[3]

'Whan shall all these warres be gone[4]
Or trewe men lyve in love &[5] lee?
Or whan shall falshed fange[6] from home,
Or Trewth shall blow his horne on hye?'

He said, 'man, set thy fote on myne,
And ouer my Shulder loke thyn Iie[7]
The fairest sight I shall shewe the [syne][8]
That euer saw[9] man in[10] thy countre.'

Ouer a lande forth I blynte,[11]
A semely sight me thought I se—
A crowned quene in verament,
With a company of Angelles fre.

Her stede was grete & dappyll gray,
her aparell was of silke of Inde;
with peryll and perrye[12] set full gay,
her stede was of a ferly kynde.
[13]So Ryally[14] in her Arraye,
I stode and mwsyd in my mynde;
all the clerkes a live to day
So fayre a lady colde[15] none ffynde.

An Angyll kneled on his kne,
and other many apon that land
went to that faire of ffelycite,
and gave her a holy water sprynckell in hand.
her crowne was Graven in graynis iij,
she halowyd the grownd *with* her owen[16] hand,
both ffrythe & ffelde and fforest ffree;
and I behelde[17] and styll did stand.

She halowed yt both [18]farre & nere;[18]
the Angelles after her did hie;
She said, 'Iesu, that bowght vs dere,[19]
what here shalle many a dede corse lye!
'here most barnies[20] be brought on bere,
and welle away[21] shall ladyes crye,
Iesu, that bowght mankynde so dere,
vpon the[r] soulles haue mercye!

then I lokyd ouer a lovely lande—
that was a selcowth thinge[22] in sight—
I se come ouer a bent rydaunde
[23]A goodly man as armyde knyght.[24]
he shoke his spere ferselye[25] in hand,
Right cruell[ye] and kene;
Styfly & stowre as he wolde stonde,
he bare a shylde of Syluer shene.

[1] R. *omits.* [2] buron [3—3] to tell me what hereafter shulde be. [4] done [5] L. or [6] be founde [7] thow nye [8] R. ffyne, L. *nil.* [9] see [10] of [11] Ouer a lovely lande as I was lente [12] L. perle = perre [13] leaf 75, back. [14] Soo Ryall she was [15] can [16] *om.* [17] L. behinde yt and [18—18] L. fere & nye [19] L. man kynde [20] burons [21] L. wyll away [22] L. *inserts* 'to se' [23] leaf 76. [24] He semed In felde as he wolde ffight [25] L. furyously

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A crosse of gowles therin [1]did be;[1]
he carpyd wordes cruell & kene,
And shoke a shafte of a suer tree;
[2]I blent wele forder apon a[2] grene:
A nother armyd knyght I see,
In his crest he bare, I wene,
A Rede lyon that did rawmpyng be;
he spake wordes cruell & kene
to that other[3] that was hym by.

This crowned quene rode them betwene,
Right as fast as she colde[4] hie,
She saith, 'men what do you meane?
stente your Stryff & your follye,
Remember that ye[5] be sayntes in heven;
and fro my dere soñ comen am I
to take this ffelde you [twoo] betwene.
whereuer yt shall[6] fall in [7]burghe
or bye.'[7]

[8]She said 'Seint G[e]orge thow art my
knyght
oft wronge heyres haue done the tene;
Seint Andrew yet [9]art thow in the[9]
right,
of thy men if it be syldom sene.[10]
here [dye] shall many a doughty knyght,
And gromes shall grone apon yat
grene,
here lordly leedes loo shall lyght,
And many a douty knyght bydene.[11]

here shalbe gladismore that shall glad
vs all,
yt shalbe gladyng of oure glee;
yt[12] shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,
but not gladmore by the see.
[13]ouer cache more[13] a coke shall crowe,
of[ter] tymes[14] then tymes thre,
In the thirde yere a ferly shall fall,
At yermes[15] broke a kynge shall dye.'

This crowned quene vanyshed awaye
with her companey of Angilles bright,
so dide both these knyghtes that day;
no more I [16]sawe them[16] in my sight.
to a[17] lytell mañ I toke my waye,
I[18] prayed hym with mayn & myght,
[19]more of this matier he wold me saye;
he answered me with reason[20] Right:

'I [21]wyll the tylle[21] with trew Intent,
but I haue no space to bide with the,
To tell the [the] trouth in varament
what shall fall &[22] gladismore be.
dissencion amonges your[23] lordes shalbe
lent,
of them that are of blode full nye,
where many a man shall their be shent,
And doughtyly in batell dye.

Charyty shalbe layed awaye,
That ryffe in londe hath been;
Come shall tene and tray,
This man can melle & mene.
those[24] that love[s] well to-day
belyve [25]shall tray & tene,[25]
In batell [26]shall barons[26] them araye
Right doughtely[27] by dene.

gret batell[es] in Englond men shall see,
be yt wronge or Right;
The sone ageinst the father shalbe,
Right frussely[28] to ffyght.
[29]then shall truth be banysshed ouer
the see,
And falle [bothe] mayn and myght;
then shall falcede[30] and envy

blowe[31] their hornes on high[t].
This shall Reigne vnto the space
of xxx^ti yeres and thre;
In Englond shalbe la[k]ke of grace,
So much treson shall be.

[1—1] I dyd see [2—2] & past fforwarde vppon the [3] other buron [4] might [5] ther [6] *om.* [7—7] L. bought or by [8] leaf 76, back. [9—9] thou art In [10] *This line omitted in* R. [11] *These four lines omitted in* R. [12] *per* [13—13] on Cachemore [14] ofter [15] yernes [16—16] see them [17] that [18] and [19] leaf 77. [20] reason and [21—21] wolde tell the [22] or [23] *om.* [24] these [25—25] shalbe traied by teene [26—26] buryns shall [27] dulfully [28] fercelye ffor [29] leaf 77, back. [30] falshede [31] L. browe

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A kynge shall reigne *with*out Right-
wysnes,
And put downe blod full hye;
Another shalbe lost for fawlte of grace,
To here shalbe [grett] petye. 124

yet shall deth haue a dynt
In [1]tor[na]ment and fyght;[1]
he that hath ynglond hent
[2]shalbe made lowe in leght.[2] 128
[3]Then wenis men[3] that ware shall stynt,
but yt Ryseth new on hight;
Then shall ij prynces harnes hent,
with treason ther dedys be dyght. 132

wrongwise werk*es* lok*es* after wrake
with [4]clerk*es* on-wissely[4] wrought;
Seint Bede in booke did make
[5]When the proffycies was sought, 136
that god he will vengyance take,
when all Englond is on lofte;
A duke shall suffer for their sake,
which he to dede hath brought. 140

when eu*er*y [man] wenys that ware is
goone,
And Rest and pese shall be,
Then shall entre at Mylford haven
vpon a horse of tree 144
A banyshed barone[6] that is borne
of brut*es* blode shalbe;
through helpe of a[n] Egyll an-one
he shall broke all[7] bretayne to the see.

be side bosworth a felde shalbe pight,[8]
ther mete shall bores two,
of dyu*er*se colors shalbe dight;[9]
the one shall the other sloo. 152
A hart*es* hed *with* tenes[10] bright
shall w*er*ke his armes[11] woo;
The white bore [to dethe] shalbe dight:
The proffycies saith soo. 156

[12]After Lord*es* shall to London Ride
That mykyll is of prise;[13]
A p*ar*liament shalbe sett that tyde,
and chose a kynge at ther devisse. 160
cu*er*y man of englond large & wyde
[14]wene[s] they ar sett of pryce,[14]
yet he shalbe called in that tyde
the kynge of covetyse.[15] 164

when sonday goth by B and C,
And pryme by one[16] and two,
the[n] selcouthe[s] men shall see,
that seme not to be soo. 168
Barnes[17] in batell shall brednet[18] be,
And barors[19] of blod full bloo;
the iiij[th] lefe of the tree shall dye,
that lost hath bowes moo. 172

A ffedder from heth shall falle in hast,
his name shall torne to a[20] tree:
[21]dulfull dede shall women wast,[21]
[22]And make folke to felde flee.[22] 176
Traytors shall towers tast,
And doughtlesse be done to dye;
All Londō shall trymble in hast, 179
[23]A dede kynge when they shall[24] see.

A prynce shall bowñe [hym] ou*er* a
flode,
Ou*er* [25]a streme straye:[25]
those that were neu*er* of Consciens good
shall breke truse on a daye. 184
Mekyll [26]care barnes brues;[26]
when they cast there truthes awaye;
then in englonde men shall here newes,
And A kynge slaine on a day. 188

betwene a traytise of trust,[27]
with a ffalse assent,
A castell sone shall lost be
Apon a Ryver [in] varament. 192

[1—1] turnament off ffight [2—2] shall make hym lowe to light
[3—3] R. then men weneth; L. then wyns men [4—4] ? werkes, R. ded*es* vnwisely [5] leaf 78.
[6] buron [7] *om.* [8] L. piched [9] L. Right [10] tynes [11] enemyes
[12] leaf 78, back. [13] L. pryde [14] R. thinke they be sett att prise; L. pryde
[15] L. covitous [16] iij [17] burons [18] beyton [19] barons [20] *om.*
[21—21] dulfull ded*es* shall warnes waste [22—22] make ffolk*es* to ffell*es* to fflye [23] leaf 28.
[24] *om.* [25—25] the stremes staye [26—26] bale burons bruen [27] truse

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[betwen) Seyton) & the see
then) shalbe warre In verement,]
And many a towne brent shalbe
[1]when ware is with assent.[1] 196

[2]then shall wacone woo & wrothe[3]
and barnys to batell shalbe bowne:[4]
their shall com ouer the water of[5] forth
wele arrayed in golde, a rede lyon; 200
with many a lorde out of the North,
for to bete their enymys downe.
mikell[6] blode with hym [7]& broth[7]
shalbe spyllyd vpon [bentis browne].[8]

[9]out of the south shall entre Right
a whyt lyon [vpp]on) a daye,
ageinst the Rede lyon for to fyght; 207
but their shall begyne a dulfull fraye.
their shall dye many a doughty knyght,
And ladys [shalle] crye welle awaye!
Men of the chirch shall[10] fiersly fyght,
with shaft and shelde them to[11] asaye:

Est and west, north and south,
shall [12]some Ryall[12] in their araye:
At mylnefylde they shall splaye banars
couth
Ageinst the Rede lyon that day. 216
they shall begyne at yerne3mowth,
many a Ryall[13] knyght in fay;
[14]Many a doughty[14] that day be put to
deth;
A[tt] flodden felde begynnys the
afraye: 220

[15]Att Branstone[15] hill shall semble a
herd,
and bright baners shall dysplaye;
And many frekes shalbe a-ferde,[16]
and fewe to bere the[17] lyff away. 224

those that is brede of vncouthe erde
shall doubtlesse lese they[r] lyffes yat
day:
[18]The Rede Lyon was neuer a ferde, 227
he shall[19] doubtlesse dy[20] that day.

A beme full [21]burle shall ther[21] blowe
vnder a montayne apon a lee;
A splayd egle that men do know
shall make a C standertes [swe].[22] 232
ther shall frekes full frely fall,
and of them he shall wyne the mon-
tane hie;
doutye knyghtes shall clype[23] & call, 235
and many a man that day shall dye.

A bull & a bastarde together [shalle]
mete,
shall fyght in fylde full manfully;
the Rede blode shall rone as rayne in
strete,
and many a doughty that day shall
dye. 240
the Rede lyon made shalbe full meke,
and come downe from a mountayne
hye;
belyve be [ffallen downe][24] vnderfete
and in yerne3 broke slayne shall he[25]
be. 244

A white lyon shall kepe a stale,
An admyrall shall come from the see,
And make[26] his enymys [27]for to fall,[27]
And dryve them to the mountayn hye:
their shal be-gyn a dulfull swale, 249
when the Albenackes[28] blod begyn-
nyth to fle;
[29]they shall be dreven) downe into a
dale,[30]
ther fayrest flower [ther] lost shalbe.

[1—1] and warre shall waken In violent
[2] R. *inserts as first line of stanza:* That many a wiffe shall wydoo ben [3] orthe [4] L. bounde
[5] L. at [6] L. Muche [7—7] ys broghte [8] L. a bent of brome (*this line is omitted in* R.)
[9] leaf 79, back. [10] *om.* [11] selffe [12—12] semble rially [13] doughtye
[14—14] and many [15—15] L. on bramstone [16] L. a-frayde [17] ther [18] leaf 80.
[19] shalbe [20] dede [21—21] borle ther shall [22] L. to shake & swaye [23] clepe
[24] L. falled, ? fouled [25] *om.* [26] doo [27—27] mekell bale [28] almanakes [l]
[29] leaf 80, back. [30] *This line is omitted in* R.

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the mowle[1] and the [2]mayre maydeñ
shall be layed awaye,[2]
and shalbe doñe dulfully to dye;
The golde anker shalbe slayne that day,
So shall the besand[3] with the beres
thre;[4] 256
A white lyon in [5]armyn graye[5]
shall fyght that day full manfully,
to helpe the Egell [in] all he maye, 259
And make his enymys fayne to fle.[6]

the day shall fayle[7] both leme & light,
the nyght shall entre vpon them tho,
their enymys ther [shalbe] put to flyght
with blody wounde*s* & harte*s* woo. 264
then shall they cry & call on hight,
vnfaithfull[8] frende*s* that [9]are goo;[9]
their shall mysse manye a Ryall knyght
that gladly to that ffelde dyd goo. 268

on morow the day shalbe full bright.
the people shall asemble fare in fere,
som *with* hevy harte*s* & som *with* ligh[t];
who fyndes his frynde[s] shall make
good chere. 272
[10]But the Rede lyoñ [11]to dede shalbe[11]
dight,
and by the adwise of a woman clere
ther shall they fynde hym sone[12] full
Right,
or elle*s* [13]they wiste nott[13] which he
were. 276

then leyve[14] eve*r*y lorde shall take,
and bowne[15] them home to their
contry,
som *with* weale, & som *with* wrake, 279
who that haue lost their frende*s* fre.
but the rede lyon, wele I wot,
to London towne browght shalbe;
the whit lyoñ shall grath his gate 283
and to London [shalle] cary that fre.

then ther shall happen such a ch*a*uns;
the prynce that is beyonde the flode
two townes shall take that longe[16] to
Fraunce, 287
with lytyll shedyng of Crysten) blod;
boldely his people he shall avaunce,
and nother spare for golde ne good.
bredlynton)[17] this proffiey graunte*s*, 291
and so did bede that well vndirstoud.

when eue*r*y man said yt shulde be were,[18]
Arsaldowne[19] then proficied he,
And said in englond [20]y not dere[20] 295
[21]tyll vij yere com) and goan) shulde be.
In hast ther shall[22] a messynger
In Albanack[23] from oue*r* the see,
that mãny a man shall suffer dere
th[r]ought his falsed and sotylty. 300

A childe *with* a chaplet shall raye hym
right,
with many a hardy man of hande,
with manya helme that clyderith[24] bright
And he shall com oue*r* soelway sand;
on [25]stanys more begyn to[25] fyght, 305
wher lorde*s* shall light vpon that londe,
And [26]aske Nothing[26] but his Right,
yet shall his enymys hym *with* stand.

holly chirch shall harnys hent,
and iij yeres stonde on stere,
mete & fyght vpon a bent,
Even as the[y] seculers were. 312
the Ruff shall Ruffully be Rent,
And stond in grete daunger,
vnto the synne of Simony be shent
that they haue vsed here. 316

A kinge[27] of Denmarke shall hym dyght
[28]Into Englond vpoñ a day,
[þat] shall make many a lorde low[29] to
lyght,
And ladyes[30] to say wele away! 320

[1] mule [2—2] mairemedon shalbe awaye [3] baſon [4] L. ther; R. *om.* beres thre [5—5] harnes gaye [6] ffiye [7] ffade [8] on feithffull [9—9] is agoo [10] leaf 81. [11—11] vnto dede is [12] *om.* [13] L. not wyt [14] L. lyvye [15] L. Bounde [16] L. belongeth [17] Bridlynton to [18] warre [19] L. Arsedowne [20—20] itt shulde not deire [21] leaf 81, back. [22] is [23] Almanake [24] gliderethe [25—25] Stanesmore begynnethe the [26—26] askethe noo thyng [27] Duke out. L. *had also originally* duike [28] leaf 82. [29] full lowe [30] many a ladye

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then frekys in felde shall frely fyght;
A kynge shall com̃ out of Norway;
The blake flet *with* mayn and myght
their enymys full [1] boldly shall [2]
asay. 324

In bretayn londe shalbe a knyght,
on) them shall make a felon) fray,
A bytter bere *with* mayn and myght 327
shall brynge a Ryall Rowt that day.
ther [3] shall dy [3] many a [stalworthe]
knyght,
And dryve them to [the] flod*es* graye;
they shall losse both sayle & syght,[4]
And a crowned kynge be slayne that
day. 332

then shall the North Ryse ageinst y[e]
south,
And the est ageinste the west:
care in contry shalbe couthe,[5]
vntyll couytyce downe be caste. 336
out of a dene shall drawe a wolf
Right Radly in that rest,
And he[6] shall com*e* in at the south,
And bett downe of the best. 340

[7] on sondysforth shall this [7] sorow be
sene,
[8 9] on the south syde vpon a monday;[9]
The[r] gromes shall grone vpon a grene,
besyde the greues[10] graye. 344
their standith a castell on) a montayn
clene—
thus Arsalldoune[11] did saye—
which shall do there enymys tene,
and save englond that day. 348

to gethers ther shall mete *with* banars
bright
crowned kynge*s* tare,
And hew on other *with* mayne and myght,
tyll one of them slayne shalbe. 352

the blake flet of Norway shall take y[e][r]
flyght,
And be full fayne to flee;
they shalbe dreven ou*er* [12] Rock*es* &
clyffe*s*,[12]
And many one drowned shalbe. 356

they shall flee in the salt strond,[13]
fer forthe in[14] the fome:
xx[ti] thowsand *with*out dynt of hand,
shall losse their lyves ylke one. 360
A darf[15] dragoñ, I vnderstonde,
shall come yet ou*er* the fome,
And *with* hym bryng a Ryall
baunde,[16]
ther lyves shall yet be lorne. 364

this darf[15] dragoñ, I vnderstond,
that comyth ou*er* the flode[s] browne,
[17] when his tayle is in Irelond,
his hede shalbe in stafford towne; 368
he shall so boldly bryng his bonde,[18]
thynkyng to wyn Renowne;
beside a welle ther is a stronde[19]
ther he shall be beten downe. 372

on Snapys more they shal be-gyne,
these doughty men & dere,
with sterne sted*es* together thring,[20]
and hew on helmes clere. 376
an Egyll shall mount w*ith*out lettyng
and freshely fyght in[21] fere,
and in a ford [shalle] kyll a kynge;
thus m*ar*lyon) [22] said in fere.[23] 380

knyght*es* shall rydd [24] in ryche araye,
and hew on [25] helmes bright:[25]
a gerfacon) shall mounte that day, 383
and iij [26] merlyon[s] fers of flyght.[26]
on gladmore, I dare well say,
dye shall many a knyght;
who shall bere the gree[27] away
no sege can rekyne[28] right. 388

[1] *om.* [2] ffor to [3—3] dye shall [4] ffight [5] L. wroght [6] *om.* [7—7] on the Southe side Sondiforde shall [8] leaf 82, back. [9—9] vppon a mu*n*day In the morni*n*ge gaye [10] grayves [11] L. arsedo*u*ne [12—12] Rocke & Cliffe [13] stroun*d*e [14] on [15] derffe [16] L. bownde [17] leaf 83. [18] bande [19] fforde [20] L. therin [21] on [22] m*er*lyn [23] *pro*phesye [24] counter [25—25] helmett*es* clere [26—26] marleons In ffere [27] L. gere [28] L. reke a

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the egyll shall so wery be
for fyghtynge, as I wene,
he wyll take [1]an Ilande[1] in the see,
wher [2]herbes is ffaire & alsoo grene;[2]
[3]then shall mete hym a faire Lady,
she shall speke *with* voice so clene:
'helpe thy men*ne* Right hardely[4]
loke where they dye in batell*es* kene!'

then shall this egyll buske *with* pride,
th[r]ought counsell of this faire lady,
entre [5]in [on] eu*ery* side,[5]
make xx[ti] stander*tes* [6]for to swey.[6]
A ra*m*pyng lyon, mekyll of pride,
In syluer sett *with* Armyn)[7] free,
shall helpe the egyll in that tyde,
where shall many a doughty dye.

In a forest stondith[8] Ook*es* thre,
In a fryth all by ther one;
beside a hedlesse crosse of tree
A well shall Ronne of blode alone.
Marlyon) said in his profecy
that in [9]their stondith[9] a stone:
A crowned kynge shall heddid be
And[10] to losse his lyffe alone.

The egyll shall fyersly fyght that day—
to hym shall draw hys frend*es* nere;[11]
a Reu*n*aunde[12] hounde, *with*oute delaye,
shall [13]brynge the chace[13] both fere &
nere.
barnes[14] shall on helmett*es* laye
[15]doubtfull dynt*es* on sid*es* sere;
twis for sworne, I dare well say,
ther song shalbe on) sorow ther.[16]

the derf dragon shall dye in fight,
the bere shall holde his hede on) high;
A wyld wolf low shall light;
the brydelyd stede shall manfully

In felde ageinst his enymes fight,
the dowble flowre maynteyn shall he;
a swane shall Swym*n*e *with* mayn and
myght;
this bede saith in his profecy.

The bull of westm*er*lande shall bell &
bere,
the boldest best in varament;
he shall afterward *with*out were
be made Iustice from tyne[17] to trent.
a bastard shall do dedys dere,
the fox he shall in hand*es* hent,
the ffullemarte[18] shalbe disfigured in
fere,
what side soeu*er* he be [on] lent.

then shall the egyll calle on hight,[19]
and say this fylde is *our*[20] to day;
then shall aliens take their flyght,
their songe shalbe wele awaye!
the duble Rose shall laughe[21] full Right,
And bere the gre for eu*er* & aye,
when false men) shall take ther flyght,
as arse[l]do*un*[22] hymself did say.

then spake the[23] holly man that men
called[24] Bede—
In profecy saith [he] in fere:
A childe *with* a chaplet shall do a dede
[25]That is doughtye & deere;[25]
In hand*es* he shalbe take[n] at nede,
and brought to his blode full nere.
he shalbe saved that day from drede
with a prynce that hath no pere;

And [26]of that barne he shall haue grete[26]
pety
[that] tyll hym is leve[27] & dere;
And afterward, in proffecy
as clerk*es* sayne[28] in fere,

[1—1] L. in Irelonde [2—2] L. herk*es* ar faire & ale is [3] leaf 83, back. [4] egerlye
[5—5] shall In on the Southe side [6—6] to ffiee [7] hermen*e* [8] stand*es*
[9—9] the fforde ther stand*es* [10] & ther [11] neere [12] ravand*e* [13—13] ring the shawes
[14] burons [15] leaf 84. [16] here [17] L. tyme [18] L. fyluer *er* syluer
[19] R. heght; L. high [20] owres [21] L. lought [22] Arsaldoune [23] that [24] call*es*
[25—25] L. that doughty dere & fere [26] *om.* [27] leefe [28] saye

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he shall Rayne in[1] Ryaltye
v & fyfty yere.
then [2]of them lord*es* shall a[2] coun-
sell be
that doughty are[3] & dere. 460

when all this is comp*re*hended to[4] ende,
than men may bide & blyne;
to London then[5] lord*es* shall wende
w*ith* that Ryall[6] kynge. 464
[7]then all wares is brought to ende
[that] hath beeñ englonde withiñ;
[8]Suche a[8] *grace* god shall send,
[that] exyled shalbe all syn*ne*. 468

then A p*ar*liament he shall make,
that kynge of high degre:
[9]truse In[9] englond shalbe take
w*ith* his blod full nye. 472
then [10]goo shall ware[10] & wyked wrake
that longe in englonde hath be,
then shall all sorow in englond slake
this saith the profecye. 476

then[11] the blake flett of Norway is
com*myn*[12] & gone,
And drenchid in the [13]flode truly;[13]
Mekelle[14] ware hath bene beforne,
but after shall none be; 480
then shall truth blow his horne
truly lowde and hye;[15]
he shall Reigne both even & morne, 483
And ffalshed [16]shall*e* banisshed be.[16]

then shall this kyng a *pro*tector make—
his cosyn of his kynne;
then the farre[17] flode he shall take,
vncouthe lond*es* to wyne, 488
for to fyght for Ie*sus*[18] sake,
[19]that dyed for all *our* synne,
And he shall worke them woo and wrake,
or eu*er* he byde or blyne. 492

at bareflet[20] he shall do battell*es* thre—
this p*rin*ce of mekyl[21] myght,
And to parys wend shall he
w*ith* many a doughty knyght. 496
ther shall they yelde hym vp the kaye[22]
of all the Citie wyght,
[And] vnto Rome wend shall he
w*ith* many A doughty knyght. 500

The pope of rome w*ith* prossession
shall mete hym the[23] same day,
And all the cardynall*es* shalbe bowne[24]
In their best araye. 504
Ther shall knele iij king*es* w*ith* crowne,
and homage make that day,
And many of the sp*iri*tuall of Rome
shall brynge hym on the waye. 508

to the wood*es*[25] then shall he Ryde—
this comly kynge with crowne,
And wyn his enymys on eu*er*y side,
And boldely bete them downe. 512
Ther shall advaile[26] no erthly p*ri*de
in castell, towre, ne towne,
but geve they warkyng wond*es* wyde,
[27]who[23] ageinst hym in batell is
bowne.[28] 516

then to Iherusalem this prince[29] shall fare
as conqueror of myght
vij mortalle[30] batelles shall he wynn*e*
there
And the turk*es* to dede shall dight. 520
[then to the sepulcre shall*e* he ffare
To see that g*ra*tious sight,
where cryst ffor vs suffred sare[31]
when he to dethe was dight.] 524

All the Citie of Iherusalem
shall a-Raye them w*ith* Ryalte,
And for to fyght shalbe [full*e*] fayne
vpon the heithen meynye. 528

[1] In welthe & [2] shall lord*es* off [3] is [4] to an [5] these [6] noble [7] leaf 85. [8—8] And suche [9—9] L. the ruffin [10—10] shall goo woo [11] when [12] L. compis [13—13] ffome so ffree [14] L. much [15] L. hight [16—16] L. shalbe vanyshed awaye [17] faire [18] Iesu [19] leaf 85, back. [20] harefleete [21] L. mylke [22] L. kynge [23] that [24] L. bound [25] Rodes [26] L. avale them [27] leaf 86. [28] L. bownd [29] L. parrys [30] L. Mortye [31] MS. sore

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To Synay that *prince* shall bowne anone,
wher seint Kateryn doth beryed be;
vij hethen kynges ther shalbe slayne,
that sight or euer he [se][1] 532

xxxij[2] batelles that crowned kynge
shall wyn, I vnderstonde,
[and] then the holly crosse he shall wyne,
And bryng yt into criston lande. 536
In hast their [3]shall serue[3] to hym,
that dare not him *with*stonde;
xxxij[2] hethen kynges
he shall *crist*en *with* his hand. 540

he shall send this rich Relycke to Rome,
to that worthy wones:
All the belles, I tell you sone,
they shall rynge [alle] at ons; 544
the pope[4] shall mete yt *with* prossessioun,
[5]And[6] all the cardynalles for the nones,
And all the senators of Rom̃e
shall knele on knes at ons. 548

then towardes[7] Iherusalem this kynge shall hie
with many a crysten wight,
In the vale of Iosephate y^er[8] shall he dye
*with*out batell or fyght. 552
xxiiij[9] kynges that do crystened be
shall take that[10] worthy wight,
[and] brynge hym to Rome Right hastely
before the popes[11] sight. 556

all the belles of Rome at one[s],
ye[12] shall wele vnderstond,
they shall rynge *with*yn those[13] wones
*with*out helpe of mannes hand. 560

the pope shall bowne [hym] to bery his bones
in seint peter[3] mynster wher yt doth stonde,
[14]All that clerkes [of Rome] that ons[14]
Shall not styre that bere[15] *with* hand.

then the pope, *with* many a kynge
and cardenalles grete plenty,
to the citie of Colyñe they shall hym brynge,
where ther lyes kynges three, 568
that offred to Iesu a ryche thinge[16]
that nyght he borne did be,
[17]bethelem that burghe[17] *with*yn),
[18]of a Mayden free. 572

Than balthaser shall speke on heght[19]
and say to [20]Melchore in fere:[20]
'Make a rome, curteys knyght,
[21]our fourt felow[21] is here.' 576
A grete[22] of golde hath Rased[23] in sight,
vpon a good maner,
And ther they shall bery this worthi wight
betwene thes kynges dere. 580

the pope[24] shall [25]grave hym[25] *with* his hond
trewly, this holly kynge,
And all the lordes of faire englond
he shall geve them his blessinge. 584
They shall bowne[26] ou*er* [the] stalworth strond
Fayre englond *with*yn;
Many shall wayle & wryng ther hande[27]
when they here that tydynge.[28] 588

[then] he that was protector englond *with*yn
hath wrought so wordely,[29]
In London they [shalle] crowne hym kynge
with gret solempnytie. 592

[1] MS. be [2] Two and thritte [3—3] shall be sworne [4] pope offe Rome [pope *crossed through*] [5] leaf 86, back. [6] *with* [7] to [8] *om.* [9] ffoure & thrittye [10] th*is* [11] *Crossed through in* R. [12] yow [13] th*is* [14—14] butt all the clerkes of Rome th*is* ones [15] beere [16] relike [17—17] In Betheleme that riall borough [18] leaf 87. [19] L. high [20—20] Melcheser in ffeere [21—21] our ffourthe brother [22] grate [23] resyd [24] *Crossed through in* R. [25—25] laye In *grave* [26] bowne them [27] L. hand*es* [28] R. tithing; L. tydynges [29] worthelye

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And so noble shalbe [1]his reigne,[1]
In tyme when yt[2] shalbe,
[3]lv yere[3] Englond *with* yn,
so long his Rayne shalbe.

than shall falshede be vanyshed away[4]
[5]and trouth shalbe redy
trew men both by nyght & day
shall lyve in charytie
dayly, me[6] thynke, we ought to pray
to god in trynytie,
for[7] to exele all vickednes away[8]
pray we [vn]to *our* lady

I pray[ed] this littell man in fere
that he wolde truly [vnto] me say,
when shall [9]this ende *with*out[en] were,
or when shall come that day?
he said, 'a long tyme thow holdest me
but yet I wyll the say, [here,
of yt[10] I shall not fayle a[11] yere,
And thow [12]wylt take hede[12] what I
say:—

In the yere of *our* lorde, I vnder-
stonde,
[13]xvc yere,[13]
& one and thirty folowand,
all this shall apere;
[14]the crosse in[14] *crist*en men*n*es hande,[15]
that is worthi and dere,
yt shalbe brought I vnderstond
to Rome [16]wythouten were.[16]

betwene the walcoen & the wall
this lytyll man mett *with* me,
[17]tolde me this proffecy all,
And what tyme it shulde be.
god that dranke esell & gall
and for vs dyed on a tree,
when he thynketh tyme to tall,
to heven bryng you & me! Amen.

Explicis proficia Venerabilis
bede, Marlionis, Thome Asslaydon)
et Al*iorum*

[1—1] thys realme [2] thys [3—3] ffyve & ffyftye yeres [4] ffor aye [5] leaf 87, back. [6] L. my [7] *om.* [8] ffor aye [9] L. *inserts* all [10] that [11] on [12—12] take good hede [13—13] ffyffetene hu*n*dreth In ffere [14—14] The hollye cross In-to [15] L. hand*e*s [16—16] L. w*ith*out ware; R *adds*, ¶ finis, *and ends here.* [17] leaf 88.

The Lansdowne MS. 762 also contains, among a collection of short prophetical notes, the following of

THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE.

leaf 49, *back.*

Thomas of Ashledoñ sayth the fader*is* of the moder*is* church / shall cause the Roses bothe to dye in his Avn*e* fonte ther / he was cristened.

leaf 50.

Thomas of Asheldoñ sayeth the egle of the / trewe brute shall see all inglond in peas & rest / both spirituall and tempo*r*all; and eu*e*ry estate of / in thaire degre and the maydens of englond*e* / bylde your howses of lyme and stone.

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APPENDIX III.

AN ENGLISH PROPHECY

OF

GLADSMOOR, SANDISFORD, AND SEYTON AND THE SEYE,

PREDICTED OF 1553.

[*Sloane* 2578, *leaves* 38 *b*—41.]

The begynninge of warres & myschef in england as Bede saiethe is *anno domini* 1553. The first battell shalbe fowght betwin englishe men & the scottes *with* y^e^ frenchmen on *yer* company at Som*er*hill beside Newecastell (the battell shalbe sore[1]) the scottes & frenchemen shall ou*er*com, scape who that maye, vntill a newe yeare. ¶ The next yeare aft*er* this battell, shall Philip of Spayne com in *with* a greate hoste betwin Seyton & the seye, beside Westcheschester,[2] and at a Skyrmyshe there shalbe slaine 5000 on bothe p*ar*ties. Then shall thei mete *with* *yer* greate battelles at Gladismore we & they, & there shall o*ur* nobles fyght so greate a battell *with* them that it shalbe hard to saye who shall haue the bett*er*. on the morowe thei shall mete agayne at Snapes moore[3] therby wheare he shalbe slaine & all his men, and thende shalbe at [4]Sandisford downe, wheare *yer* shippes shall lye till y^e^ crowes buylde *yer* neastes in them. ¶ Then shall com owte of Denmark a Duke and he shall com*e* into England *with* 16 Lordes, *with* whose concent he shalbe crowned kinge in a towne of North*um*berland, and shall raign 3 monethes & odd dayes. he shall fight a battell at Snapes more,[3] wheare he shalbe slaine, & xx^m^ of his men drowned in the seye. ¶ Then comethe Pole owte of rome and his pow*er* shalbe so greate *yat* he shall not cease vntill he win to London and then shall he fight so soare a battell *yat* none shall knowe who shall haue y^e^ bett*er* and so on the morowe bi the mone light thei shall com*e* to London, and thei shall fight an other battell betwin Peter, John, Jamys Gylys, & charynge crosse, then at that battell shall thei wynne London & contynue there a while doinge *yer* will. Then shall a Cardynall *yat* neu*er* was worthy of that estate, com*e* to the tow*er* of London, and take one by the hand, & saye com*e* forthe ientle brother & though the poles haue bene so longe drye in england *yat* men myght wade ou*er* them in pynsons, *which* nowe ou*er*flowe all England. [5] ¶ Then shall come the frenche kinge at

[1] The words between ( ) are inserted in another hand. [2] Sic.
[3] "Sandes more" written over in another hand [4] fol. 39. [5] fol. 39, back.

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wabur*n*e holte (or hoke)[1] 15 myles from norwiche, there shall he be lett in bi a false mayre and that shall he kepe for his lodging a while, then at his ret*ur*ne he shalbe mett at a place callid the redd bank, y^e^ place is 30 miles from Westches*ter* wheare at y^e^ first assaye shalbe slaine ix^m^ welchmen, and y^e^ dowble nombre of enemyes, then on y^e^ morowe shall y^e^ str*an*ger desire a peace for 3 yeares moare, but y^e^ pease shall endure no lenger then ij maye[2] dayes when y^e^ dayes waxe somwhat longe, then shall mete bothe parties at Sandisforde, and y*er* shalbe so mortall a battell that xx^m^ enemyes shalbe dryven into the seye w*ith*out dent of swerd ¶ the*n* shall o*ur* noble kinge tow*ar*d London ryde, & at Stanesmore y*er* shall he mete & fight w*ith* y^e^ pole & y^e^ spiritualtie a greate battel, so y*at* y*er* shalbe slaine xxx^m^ pr*es*tes & pr*es*tes s*er*vaunt*es* w*hich* shall haue shaven crownes as y*er* maist*er*s, & made to beleve y*at* thei shall dye goddes serv*aunt*es then shall the kinge ryde to London & 23 Aldermen shall lease y*er* heddes & a besom[3] of equitie shall swepe all thinges cleane, holly churche shall tremble & quake, therfor lett them to y*er* pr*ayour*ȝ take. ¶ A pr*o*phet of portyngale saythe, Awake englishemen & guive hede, for a tyme shall com*e* when a kinge w*ith* a myter shall raigne ou*er* you & he shalbe a wulf of y^e^ seye, he shall holde in him y^e^ strengthe of ij bisshoppȝ, & the shadowe of a pope shall lye in him by y^e^ sufferaunce of a Lion, & he shall take his iourney northw*ar*d, & shall com*e* againe into his contrey, & in the hemm*e* of his mantell shalbe lapped iij thing*es* hunger, pestilence, & sorowe. ¶ An heremyt of Fraunce saithe Woo be to you englishmen, drawe neare, for it shalbe said emonge you, wuld god I weare for 3 monethes a Foxe in a hole lyenge, a bird in the Aire Flyenge, or a fishe in y^e^ seye swymynge. ¶ Bede saythe, vnto a councell in wint*er* englishmen make haste, and from a Feaste in Som*er* Fle, fle, fle. ¶ An Abbott of the land said, guyve you hede englishmen when a pr*iv*ie hatred shal be in m*er*lyn castell[4] betwin a larke, or a [5]rearemouse, and a Raven, w*hich* shalbegynn*e* in one daye, but shall not be endid in 3 yeares. but w*ith*in y*at* yeare shalbe a councell in winter and in som*er* folowinge shall y^e^ greate men of england be bidden to a feaste, amonge whom thei shall saye, woo, woo, woo, what shall we doo, whither shall we goo, but to y^e^ messenger of deathe. ¶ M. shall Raise vpon you greate tribulac*i*on & sorowe, the kinge of y^e^ romans & grekes shall com vpon you w*ith* a greate fury, and E. shall rise owte of his slepe like a lyve man, whom all men thought to be deade. ¶ The trone of constance, & thomas w*ith* his tales all said, y*at* y^e^ saxons shuld chuse them a Corde y*at* shuld brynge them all vnder. A deade man shuld make betwin them a corde, & y*at* shuld be right myche wonder, that he y*at* deade is & buryed in sight, shuld rise againe & live in lande, thurgh y^e^ comfort of a yonge knight, y*at* fortune hathe chosen to hir husband, y^e^ wheale shall t*ur*ne to hym right, y*at* fortune hathe chosen to be hire [6]feere. ¶ When Father blithe the begg*er* can saye ij credes, & hathe libertye to walke w*ith* his wallet, and mother symkyn of the sowthe takethe againe hir beades, then thowe pr*es*te take hede of thi pallett.

Finis.

[1] Added by another hand. [2] "Midsom*er*" is written over "maye." [3] fol. 40.
[4] "Salisbury castell" written over these words. [5] fol. 40, back. [6] fol. 41.

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